

82

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# THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

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THE OECUMENICAL COUNCIL

CATHOLICISM IN ETHIOPIA

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE FORM OF WORDS OF  
INSTITUTION AND THE EPICLESIS IN THE ANAPHORAE  
OF THE ETHIOPIC CHURCH

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DOCUMENTATION

NEWS AND COMMENTS

OBITUARY

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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# THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

*(Continuation of 'The Eastern Churches' - Now and then)  
founded 1931*

VOL. XIII

SUMMER 1959

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In another part of this issue we are printing a letter from the abbot of St. Procopius, LaSalle, on the subject of what the *L.C.Q.* intends to do concerning the Pope's appeal for Christian unity. Our answer is that we hope to have a series of articles, some by Catholics and some by Orthodox, dealing with doctrinal questions and other things, are an obstacle in the way of union. This has been the aim of the *L.C.Q.* from the beginning. But now we must do all we can to prepare the way for reunion.

Under the heading of Discreetation we print a translation of the New Year's Message of Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople. Below we give some extracts of an article by Percy Groom, S.J., on 'Reunion and the Oecumenical Councils' (*L.C.Q.* 17, Jan.-Feb. 1957). Here are some quotations:

'The return of the dissident Churches of the East to Catholic unity raises a number of problems of adaptation created by the great length of time the separation has subsisted. For nearly nine hundred years when the Byzantine Church is concerned, for much longer with the Nestorians and Jacobites, divergences have continued, from the very circumstances and the fact of estrangement, to multiply and extend. The Catholic Church, reduced in fact practically to the Latin Church, has undergone considerable development in discipline, worship, institutions, and supreme government, while the dissident bodies just named have continued to evolve under entirely different





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THE call of Pope John XXIII for an Œcumenical Council is bound to affect the whole Christian World. This is specially so since an important subject on the agenda will be that of Christian Unity.

In another part of this issue we are printing a letter from the abbot of St Procopius, U.S.A., asking what the *E.C.Q.* intends to do concerning the Pope's appeal for Christian unity. Our answer is that we hope to have a series of articles, some by Catholics others by Orthodox, dealing with doctrinal questions and others that are an obstacle in the way of union. This has been the aim of the *E.C.Q.* from the beginning. But now we must do all we can to prepare the way for reunion.

Under the heading of Documentation we print a translation of the New Year's Message of Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople. Below we give some extracts of an article by Père Grumel, A.A., on 'Reunion and the Œcumenical Councils' (*L'Unité de l'Eglise*, Jan.-Feb. 1953). Here are some quotations :

"The return of the dissident Churches of the East to Catholic unity raises a number of problems of adaptation created by the great length of time the separation has subsisted. For nearly nine hundred years where the Byzantine Church is concerned, for much longer with the Nestorians and Jacobites, divergences have continued, from the very circumstances and the fact of estrangement, to multiply and extend. The Catholic Church, reduced in fact practically to the Latin Church, has undergone considerable development in discipline, worship, institutions, and supreme government, while the dissident bodies just named have continued to evolve under entirely different

conditions. The result is that when a dissident church, if it be a corporate reunion, or a separate brother, if it be an individual return, take their place within the Catholic unity, they find themselves faced with an historical legacy in which their Church has no part and which may well seem difficult to accept and a heavy burden to carry.'

It is good for us to remember this.

The numerous Œcumenical Councils now received in the West are part of this legacy. We know that the Byzantine Church, to speak only of her, commonly admits but seven. The last of these was held in the year 787. Since then the number of councils for the Catholic Church has risen to twenty. And several of them dealt with matters which, *au fond*, were the concerns only of Latin Christianity, and sometimes in a purely transitory way.

On the other hand, there can be no question of the Catholic Church renouncing her past and "de-baptising" those councils which she has always regarded as œcumenical. What then can be done? Fr Grumel would have the Œcumenical Councils considered in two categories. "In one would be those whose decisions are directly concerned with revealed truths; in the other, those which dealt only with disciplinary matters on passing problems or again which treated of truths of the natural order", connected with the faith but not revealed. The first would be œcumenical properly speaking.'

Under the first he places the first seven, then Lyons, Florence, Trent and the Vatican. Eleven in all, under the second would be placed all the other councils commencing with that which is called the eight (IV Constantinople, 869). Nine in all.' (See *Pax, Eastern Churches*, No. July 1933.)

THE EDITOR.



Archbishop  
(now Cardinal)  
Valeri

His Grace Abuna Haile  
Mariam Cahsai  
Exarch of Addis Ababa

His Grace Abuna  
Ghebre Jesus  
Exarch of Eritrea

*(Photo by Giordani)*  
Bishop Villa



His Grace Exarch Ghebre Jesus offering up the Liturgy (Korban)

## CATHOLICISM IN ETHIOPIA

At a quarter-past eight in the morning of the fourth Sunday after Easter 1957 (1949 according to the Ethiopian Calendar) Mamo Dubale was ordained priest by His Grace Abuna Haile Mariam, exarch of Addis Ababa and superior of Catholics of the Ethiopic rite in Ethiopia. The ordination took place in the Cathedral of the Nativity, Addis Ababa, after the Pre-anaphora and before the Anaphora of pontifical liturgy. From early morning a group of cantors standing just inside the main doors of the Cathedral had been singing the night office: each cantor grasped a prayer-stick about five feet long and topped by a short metal bar shaped like the end of an open scroll: they punctuated their singing by the jangling of sistra (a form of bell in which metal discs strung on taut wires strike together and produce a tinny jangle) and certain parts of the chant were accompanied by the beating of drums. While the office was being chanted the faithful were arriving for the liturgy. Some wore the traditional costume of the Amhara—white jodhpurs and shirt for the men, long dresses for the women. Others wore European dress. Still others, perhaps a majority, wore a mixture of the two styles. As they came to their seats—women on the right of the nave, men on the left—many of them prostrated themselves and touched the ground three times with their foreheads and three times with their lips. Others bowed low from the waist. A few genuflected in the Latin way. Soon after seven o'clock the chant came to an end and the Abuna (the word means 'our father' and is generally applied to a bishop) entered the Cathedral to begin the liturgy.

The liturgy of the Ethiopians, like the liturgies of other Eastern Catholic rites, is divided into two parts, the Pre-anaphora and the Anaphora. These are not identical with the Latin divisions of the Mass of the Catechumens and the Mass of the Faithful. The Anaphora may be said to correspond to the Latin Canon with its preface, and all that precedes is the Pre-anaphora. Each part takes about one hour to sing. Traditionally five ministers are necessary for the celebration of Solemn liturgy: the celebrant, the assistant priest, the deacon and subdeacon, and the lector. This is not always possible, especially in the country parishes, and it is permitted for one priest to combine the parts of celebrant and assistant and for the other parts to be taken by clerics in minor orders or even by laymen.



On this Sunday at a quarter-past seven the exarch, wearing a double cope and a golden crown, and attended by the correct number of ministers, began the introit at the foot of the altar. The bread and wine were blessed and offered to God, various prayers were sung, the litany was chanted, the altar was incensed, the epistles and gospel were read aloud, solemn prayers for peace, the hierarchy and the faithful were intoned, the exarch washed his hands, and the kiss of peace was given. All the ministers then sat while the administrator of the Cathedral, Abba Gabremikael Makonnen, preached on the hard road of the Christian, with particular reference to the road on which the ordinand was now setting out. When the sermon was over the bishop seated himself in a chair at the foot of the altar steps, facing the congregation. The ordinand then came out of the sacristy, preceded by the administrator in full vestments and supported by the deacon and subdeacon. All four bowed to the bishop and the tabernacle and then moved in procession anti-clockwise round the church, followed by sanctuary servers carrying the priestly vestments. The procession over, they bowed again to the bishop and the ordinand knelt at the bishop's feet.

The bishop intoned the pre-ordination prayers, incense was blessed, and the actual ordination took place: this consisted simply of the imposition of hands, accompanied by the correct form of words. The servers brought forward the priestly vestments one by one: the bishop blessed them and placed them on the new priest, vesting him for the liturgy. Abba Mamo (the word 'abba' means 'father') then ascended the altar steps, kissed the altar on the epistle side, descended the steps and kissed the bishop's ring, embraced all the ministers in order, and then re-ascended the steps to stand on the foot-pace between the bishop and the assistant priest to concelebrate the Anaphora.

What is this Ethiopic rite according to whose usages Abba Mamo Dubale was ordained and in whose parishes he will probably serve for most of his priestly life? When was it instituted and how? To answer these questions properly we must go back to the fourth century A.D.

There is a tradition that St Matthew the Apostle took the Faith to Ethiopia before his death. It is at present impossible to determine the truth of this. In any case, if St Matthew did go to a land called Ethiopia, there can be no certainty that it was the land now ruled by H.I.M. Haile Selassie I, since to

the people of the ancient world and of the middle ages the name Ethiopia meant an ill-defined area somewhere between Libya and the Indus valley, inhabited by non-white peoples, and in the early centuries of the Christian era the term was applied particularly to Upper Nubia, now called the Sudan. There is another tradition that Christianity was taken to Ethiopia by the eunuch mentioned in the eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles: the obvious objection is that the story in the Acts gives us no hint that the eunuch returned to evangelize his own people and, even if he did, there is no certainty that by Ethiopian the evangelist meant what we mean by the word to-day. But there is clear evidence that, although it may have been taken to the country earlier, Christianity spread through the Abyssinian Highlands in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

Rufinus Tyrranius tells us in his writings how a Syrian merchant, Meropius, took two of his young kinsmen, Frumentius and Aedesius, on a voyage to 'India'. On the return journey the ship was attacked by the inhabitants of a seaport where it had put in. The attackers slaughtered the whole ship's company except the two youths, whom they carried off to their king as slaves. This king has been identified beyond reasonable doubt as Ella Amida, king of Axum. Axum is in the north of modern Ethiopia and is the precursor of the present-day Ethiopian empire.

Ella Amida made Aedesius his cupbearer and Frumentius his treasurer and scribe. When the king died the widowed queen begged the two young men to stay and help her act as regent during the minority of her infant son. They did so, and during the regency Frumentius promoted the spread of Christianity, partly by his virtuous life, partly by encouraging the Christian merchants in the country to profess their Faith openly and to build churches.

When Aeizanas came of age, the two Syrians handed over their offices and left the kingdom. Aedesius went to Tyre and became a priest: the writer Rufinus met him there many years later. Frumentius went to St Athanasius, recently appointed bishop of Alexandria, and begged him to send a bishop to the Axumites. Athanasius decided to send Frumentius himself and to this end consecrated him bishop about 330 A.D. (This part of the story is confirmed by Athanasius himself, who mentions the consecration in a letter.) The new bishop returned to Axum and was welcomed by Aiezanas, the young

king, under whose patronage he evangelized the kingdom and earned the title 'Father of Peace'. There is clear epigraphic and numismatic evidence that at the beginning of his reign Aezanas was a pagan and that before he died he was at least a warm supporter of the Faith, even though he may not have been a convert himself.

In 451 the council of Chalcedon deposed the patriarch of Alexandria for heresy, and he became the leader of the Monophysites in Egypt, where this doctrine gained great ground. Exactly when the Church in Ethiopia followed the Egyptian patriarchate into heresy and schism is not clear. In the latter half of the fifth century there came to the Axumite kingdom nine monks from Syria, always called by Ethiopians the Nine Saints. These monks translated the Scriptures and other writings into Ge'ez or Ethiopic, the ancient language of Ethiopia. If these monks were Monophysites fleeing from persecution in Syria, as most historians suggest, it means that Ethiopia fell away from Rome within twenty or thirty years of Chalcedon. If, on the other hand, they were in communion with Rome and were fleeing from the Monophysite heresy in Syria, as Ethiopian Catholics believe, then it is probable that the country remained in the true Faith until some time in the sixth century. This latter view is supported by the Church's recognition of St Pantaleon, one of the Nine (though this recognition can carry little weight with historians).

For over nine hundred years the Ethiopian Christians were cut off from the rest of the Christian world, except that their metropolitan (or abuna) was always appointed by the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria and was always an Egyptian monk. (This was true until 1946, when, amid great rejoicing, an Ethiopian abuna was appointed.) As a result of this isolation, Christianity has developed, in both belief and practice, along lines peculiar to the country. These erratic developments we shall refer to in a later paragraph.

In 1490 there began the long association of Portugal with Ethiopia. From then until 1633 there were continual attempts to win the allegiance of the Ethiopians to the See of Rome: but Emperors like Sisinnius who favoured reunion were quite unable to carry with them the clergy, the nobles and the people, and all attempts to make Ethiopia Catholic failed. The Emperor Basilides (1632-65) drove out or executed all the Jesuits in the country and arranged with the neighbouring

princelings that any Roman priest caught be killed. Of the nine Capuchins who tried to enter the country to carry on the work begun by the Jesuits seven were killed and the other two had to turn back.

In 1839 two Italian priests, one of them called de Jacobis, landed on the Eritrean coast and gained the protection of Ras Ubé (or Webé), the King of Tigré, the northernmost province. They succeeded in persuading some of the dissident clergy to accept the supremacy of the pope and these uniate priests had charge of the first Catholic parishes. There seems at first to have been little friction between the Italian priests and their converts, on the one hand, and the Coptic clergy and people, on the other, since the Catholics were allowed to use Coptic churches for the celebration of Mass. There must have been some opposition, however, since in 1854 Abba Gabre Mikael, a Coptic monk of some scholarship who had submitted to Rome, was murdered: his cause was instituted and he has since been beatified.

In the years since 1839 the liturgy and practice of the Copts have been edited and expurgated, and this revised version of contemporary Ethiopian practice has been taken into use by the converted priests and people. The number of converts has gradually increased, until to-day there are about a hundred thousand Catholics, mostly of the Ethiopic rite, throughout the empire and federation. There is need for a competent history of the church in Ethiopia during the past 120 years: secular historians say little on the subject and accounts with a religious bias, like Père J-B. Coulbeaux's *Histoire Politique et Religieuse d'Abyssinie* (Geuthner, Paris, 1929), are incomplete.

To-day there are two dioceses in Ethiopia: the exarchate of Addis Ababa, which covers Ethiopia proper, and the diocese of Asmara, which is concerned with the Federated Territory of Eritrea. There is, in addition, an apostolic vicariate with charge of the Latin Catholics in certain of the southern provinces: the administrator apostolic, Mgr Urbain Pearson, is a Capuchin, and his order conducts some mission stations in the east and south of the country. The Lazarists used to conduct a seminary for Ethiopic Catholics in Addis Ababa, but this closed down recently and the Congregation is now devoting itself to the conduct of mission stations in the west.

The practices of the Ethiopic Catholics are based, as was shown above, on the practices of the Ethiopic Copts (or, as

they prefer to be called, the Ethiopian Orthodox). This means, among other things, that over half the days of the year are fast days, on which all animal products are forbidden: this prohibition includes eggs, butter and milk, as well as meat. Moreover, neither food nor drink may be taken before midday or, on certain days, three o'clock in the afternoon. Such a rigorous fasting discipline would do credit to one of the more severe religious orders: its imposition on laymen, particularly on those who are poor and not overnourished—as many of the Catholics are—would seem to be excessively harsh. But it must be understood that through the centuries fasting has become a social obligation as much as religious: so that, for instance, even to-day the slaughterhouses close down during the Lenten Fast, though not more than half of the population is likely to observe the fast. Any attempt to soften the traditional disciplines and customs would undoubtedly give offence and scandal, not only to the Orthodox, but also to loyal Catholics. Fasting is regarded as a necessary means of sharing in the sufferings of Christ, not as a means of self-discipline and manifesting obedience to God's Church and so to God. It is even inadvisable to announce dispensations for certain persons, such as coolies, soldiers and others who do fatiguing work: owing perhaps, to their long separation from other Christians, the Ethiopians, whether dissident or Catholic have almost insuperable difficulty in distinguishing between Divine Precepts and man-made law. Any dispensation appears to great numbers of them as impious interference with the laws of God, and the granting of dispensations might well cause not a few of them to return to the rigours of the Copts. In fact, priests do give dispensations privately to those whom they consider will not be scandalized by them, but the majority of the faithful is probably unaware of this. It is interesting to note that this is far from being a case in which the clergy impose harsh penances on an already suffering people: some of the clergy would welcome a lessening of the rigours of the discipline of the rite, but it is the laity themselves who would oppose any action to achieve this aim. They are very doubtful of the revised regulations for fasting before Holy Communion and the clergy can do very little to encourage the laity to avail themselves of the relaxed rules and so become more frequent communicants.

The derivation of the practices of the rite from those of the Copts has meant that the Catholics retain the liturgical use of



the drums and sistra. No music is allowed during the celebration of liturgy, but in other services and offices the chant is often accompanied by drumming, the jangling of sistra, and occasionally handclapping. The sistra are said to have come into use as a result of the ancient connection of the Ethiopic Christians with those of Egypt, where the sistrum was used in pre-Christian times in temple services and was naturally, therefore, used by Egyptians celebrating the liturgy. The drums are, people think, a purely African contribution to religious ceremony. The handclapping is probably associated with the sacred dancing which cantors of the dissident Ethiopians still perform at least on the feast of the Epiphany. Latin visitors to Ethiopic churches are probably most fascinated by the drums. Each drum is about a yard long and tapers from a diameter of, say, twenty inches at the top to one of ten at the bottom. The drummer either stands with the drum slung diagonally across his chest or he squats on the floor with the drum on its side in front of him. He uses both hands and can produce either a bass or a tenor note, according to whether he uses the heel of the hand or the fingers and whether he strikes the skin in the centre or at the edge. All accompaniment is a combination of these two notes played at varying speeds according to the meaning of the passage being sung. One of the most easily identifiable rhythms is taken from the nocturn (or night office) sung before the liturgy. A fairly long section of the chant is accompanied by phrases of five notes spaced at intervals of about two seconds, thus : BOOM, boom, BOOM, boom, boom.

There are, of course, many beliefs and practices of the Copts which Catholics have abandoned or are encouraged to abandon. Ethiopic Copts are bound by many rules which have their origin in Mosaic Law : such are the rules on sexual intercourse, clean and unclean animals, administration of baptism on the fortieth day after birth for a boy and on the eightieth day for a girl, the ritual purification of women after childbirth, and the sacrifice of animals on the dedication of a church. These rules are not binding on Catholics but since through the centuries they have, like fasting, become social customs, many Catholics still observe some at least of them. Moral precepts are, naturally, the same for Catholics in Ethiopia as elsewhere, and in this they are more strictly bound than their Coptic compatriots, who tend to regard breaking the fast as a greater sin than adultery, murder, oath-breaking

and theft. The doctrines that separate the Catholics and the Ethiopic Copts are set out in Coulbeaux's work, referred to above: suffice it here to mention differences on the Trinity, the Nature of Jesus Christ, Angels, Original Sin, and the After-life.

All Ethiopic Christians follow the Alexandrian calendar. New Year's Day falls on 11th September, and the year is divided into twelve months of thirty days, followed by an intercalary month of five days. Each month has its cycle of feasts, and special commemoration is made of the Virgin Mary, St Michael and St George (the patron saint of Ethiopia), once a month. Christmas falls on 7th January and Epiphany on the 18th: in this they differ from the Malabar Jacobites, with whom the Copts are in communion, who have adopted the Latin Calendar. Easter is variable, as with us: in 1957 the date of Easter was the same in both Latin and Ethiopic rites, a coincidence of rare occurrence.

And what of the clergy, who are far more important than practices and customs? It is good to have known them. They are a body of dedicated men, living austere lives and working for the salvation of souls. They have a vivid awareness of the fact that they are priests primarily to carry out God's work and it is for this end that they were ordained. As a result they have developed a lack of consideration for their own convenience that is uplifting. They will hear confessions at any time of the day or, if a priest is busy, he will send for another priest to do so: there is none of the reproachful attitude that some of us have occasionally met in other places. A priest will wait patiently at the altar rails while a tardy communicant makes his way slowly from the back of the church, and if by chance someone is too late to receive communion during liturgy, the celebrant will come back after Mass and give the Sacrament to one person, giving at the same time the impression that he considers it a privilege to do so. The Ethiopic clergy do not usually smoke—but, then, very few Ethiopians do—they seldom, if ever, drink, and they do not go to secular entertainments such as cinema shows. Most of them speak at least two Ethiopian languages and one European: some speak six or more tongues. If the devotion of its priests can achieve the return of Ethiopia's Christians to the Roman Obedience, then that return is assured in the long run.

Before leaving the topic of the priesthood, it may be well to refer to one important difference between Coptic and Catholic

Canon Law. All Coptic clergy, except those who enter monasteries, must marry before being raised to the priesthood. The Catholic clergy take the vow of celibacy, as the Latins do. But from time to time a Coptic priest is reconciled with Rome and appears to have a vocation for the Catholic priesthood. If he is a widower and has sufficient education (or can be given the necessary instruction) no problem arises. But what of the reconciled priest with a wife and family? In cases where there was no danger of scandal and the Ordinary considered there was a real vocation, the candidate has been dispensed from the practice of celibacy and has been conditionally re-baptized and re-ordained. There have in fact been few cases like this, but those who have been so re-ordained are, I am told, doing fine work in country parishes, where their being married gives no scandal: indeed, why should it, since in Ethiopia celibate priests are the exception, not the rule?

The recent arrival of Mgr McGeogh, a Brooklyn Irishman, as papal internuncio to the court of H.I.M. Haile Selassie I aroused considerable interest here and, in some quarters perhaps, alarm. This appointment and the Emperor's decision to appoint a minister to the Holy See are the concrete expression of a long-standing mutual respect on the part of the pope and the emperor: Haile Selassie I, himself a Copt, is nevertheless well-disposed towards Catholics, and Pius XII has made no secret of his affection for Ethiopia. Mgr McGeogh is, of course, a diplomat and not a missionary. But his appointment and his acceptance by the Imperial Government do, I think, reflect the fact that Catholicism is *established* in Ethiopia. We must remember, though, that Catholics form less than one per cent of the estimated total population and there is much to be done before their numbers increase appreciably. When, however, they do increase, the increase will have been effected largely because Catholicism in Ethiopia is not an alien growth—or, to be more precise, does not appear to be an alien growth. The reconciliations and conversions will have been achieved mainly by a native clergy, compatriots of the converts, speaking their languages and belonging to a rite that is familiar to the people and derives in its externals from native culture.

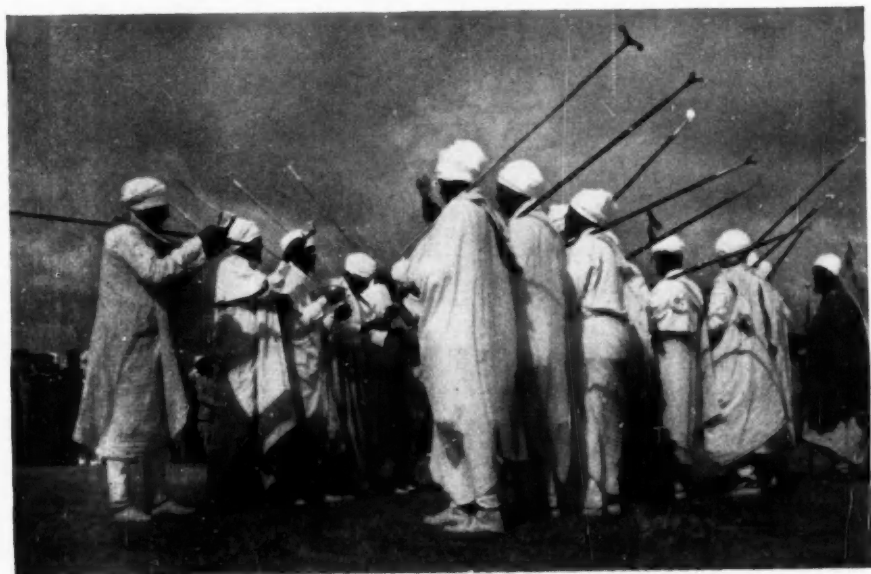
P. H. SPRENGER.

THE DABTARA EXECUTING A SACRED MEASURE ON THE FEAST  
OF THE EPIPHANY

The Dabtara are the learned men of Ethiopia, and they combine the functions of teacher, catechist and singer. On festivals, after the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, they execute, often with the assistance of the priests, a sacred measure. For this purpose, they form two rows facing each other. They hold in their left hand a *mégomia*, a crutch which has a metal or ivory head with the shape of a tee, and in their right hand, a *tsenatsel* or sistrum. These crutches are also used in church as a means of repose, while standing during the long services. The sistrum, the origin of which may be traced to the instrument used by the Ancient Egyptians, especially in the worship of Isis, has the form of a small metal lyre to which a handle is attached. Wires are stretched from one side to the other of the sistrum, and on these wires there are fixed small metal discs, usually five in number. These sistra are also used as accompaniment to certain hymns and chants of the Ethiopic Church. Another musical instrument which is used both in church and at this sacred measure, is the *kebero*, a kind of drum about one metre long, one end being larger than the other. It is sounded by striking the skin stretched over the ends, with the palm of the hand. To the accompaniment of the beating of the drums and the shaking of the sistra, the two rows of Dabtara advance slowly towards each other, and then slowly retreat. At certain points, the two rows advance beyond each other, and then the Dabtara turn round and thus face each other again. During this sacred measure the crutches are either brandished at arm's length, or repose on the shoulder, as in the illustration. The steps of this sacred measure are varied; sometimes light and sometimes heavy, expressing thus joy in the service of God and the gravity of prayer.

For a detailed study on the Dabtara, cf. B. Velat, 'Les Dabtara Ethiopiens' in *Les Cahiers Coptes*, No. 5, Cairo 1954, pp. 21-29.

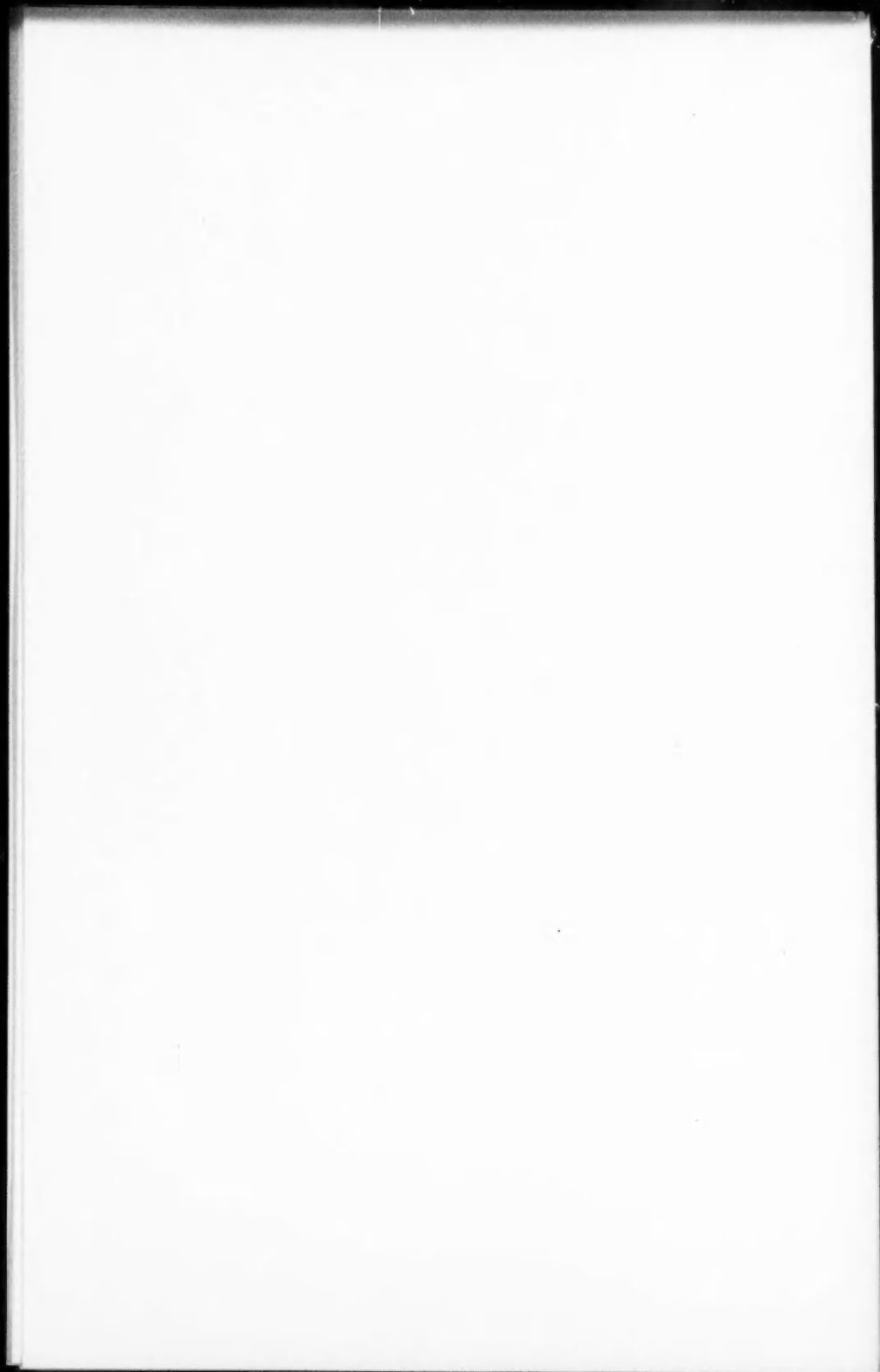
O.H.E.H-B.



*(Photo by G. Talanos)*

Dabtara executing a Sacred measure on the Feast of the Epiphany





## A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE FORM OF THE WORDS OF INSTITUTION AND THE EPICLESIS IN THE ANAPHORÆ OF THE ETHIOPIC CHURCH

THE Euchologion (Mashafa Qeddâsê) of the Ethiopic Church contains fourteen Anaphoræ for use on festivals and Sundays during the liturgical year, but, besides these, there are a further three Anaphoræ which, however, are found in only one or two manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> These Anaphoræ, as is the case with the Anaphoræ of the Syrian Church, correspond more or less to that part of the Liturgy of the Greek and Latin Churches which is known as the Liturgy of the Faithful and, when celebrated, they are attached to the Pre-anaphoral Service or Ordo Communis.

These Anaphoræ of the Ethiopic Church have much that is of interest for the student of liturgiology and, indeed, many of them contain a wealth of dogmatic theology. If, however, we abstract from them those expressions which are clearly post-nicene as regards dogma, and all the obviously later ritual accretions, we are left with a residue which furnishes a good example of that diversity of form which the Prayer of Eucharist of the Primitive Church apparently possessed, judging from the account of St Justin Martyr, where he says: 'Bread and wine and water having been brought, the president offers prayer and thanksgiving to the best of his ability, and the people assent by saying Amen'.<sup>2</sup>

This diversity of form in its Anaphoræ, it should be noted, the Ethiopic Church has in common with the Syrian Church, though the Anaphoræ of the latter display much more uniformity than those of the Ethiopic Church.

<sup>1</sup> (a) The Anaphora of St James, the brother of the Lord, preserved in MS. Eth. 69 Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, and edited by O. Löfgren and S. Euringer 'Die Anaphora des Heiligen Iacobus, des Bruders des Herrn' in *Oriens Chr.* Neue Serie, vierter Band, 1915, pp. 1-23, Ethiopic text and German translation; (b) the Anaphora of St Gregory III (Anaphora of the Virgin Mary), preserved in MS. Eth. 74, fol. 117v, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris and in MS. Or. oct. 2168, fol. 153r, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; (c) the Anaphora of St Cyril II edited by O. Löfgren and S. Euringer 'Die Beiden Aethiopischen Anaphoren des Heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien' in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* etc., Band 8, Heft 3, pp. 213-17 (Ethiopic text), and Band 9, Heft 1-2, pp. 44-55 (German translation and notes).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. St Justin Martyr, *Apologia*, cap. 65.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the history or the date of composition of the Anaphoræ of the Ethiopic Church, but it may be remarked in passing, that the Anaphora known as that of Our Lord and Our God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ is based on the Anaphora contained in the Ethiopic version of the *Testamentum Domini*, and the Anaphora known as that of Our Fathers the Apostles, on that found in the Ethiopic work called the *Sinôdôs*.<sup>3</sup> In consequence, the date of the Anaphoræ contained in these two works, and naturally the two Anaphoræ derived from them, will depend on the date which can be assigned to these two documents, and on this date scholars are not as yet agreed. The source of the Anaphora known as that of St Basil, is the Anaphora of St Basil of the Coptic Church, but, be it noted, the Ethiopic version of this Anaphora is considered to have been made from the Arabic translation of the Coptic text of this Anaphora.<sup>4</sup> Should this prove to be correct, the date of the Ethiopic version of the Anaphora of St Basil will then depend on the date of the translation of the Coptic text into Arabic. When this occurred is not definitely known, but we have examples of an Arabic version of this Anaphora already in the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup>

The present article is concerned, as the title states, with a study of the form of the Words of Institution and the Epiclesis as found in the fourteen Anaphoræ of the Ethiopic Church.<sup>6</sup>

As regards the various forms which the Words of Institution assume in these Anaphoræ, we may arrange them in eight categories.

*1st Category.* The form as recorded by St Matthew xxvi, 26, 28 and by St Mark xiv, 22, 24, i.e. 'This is My Body . . . This is My Blood', represented by the Anaphora of St John Chrysostom.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. M. Harden, *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy*, London 1928, pp. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. Euringer, 'Die Aethiopische Anaphora des Heiligen Basilus' in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XXXVI 3, No. 98, p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Erster Band, 'Die Uebersetzungen', Città del Vaticano, 1944, pp. 641-42.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M. Chaîne, 'La consécration et l'épiclesse dans le Missel éthiopien' in *Bessarione*, Serie III, Vol. VII, Anno 14, pp. 181-209. The Ethiopic text for the Words of Institution and the Epiclesis of the fourteen Anaphoræ is taken from MS. Or. 546 British Museum (collated with other MSS.) and is accompanied by a Latin translation. The writer of the present article has not had the opportunity to consult this study. The above particulars were kindly communicated to him by his friend Mr Cyril S. Moss, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum.

*2nd Category.* The form 'This bread is My Body . . . This cup is My Blood', represented by nine Anaphoræ.

*3rd Category.* The form for the wine 'This cup is My Blood of the New Testament' which recalls the words recorded by St Luke xxii, 20 and by St Paul in I Corinthians xi, 25, 'This cup is the New Testament in My Blood', represented by the Anaphora of John, Son of Thunder and by the Anaphora of St Cyril.

*4th Category.* A mixed form, i.e. 'This bread is My Body . . . This is Thy Blood', represented by the Anaphora of Our Lord and Our God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ; and 'This is My Body . . . This cup is My Blood of the New Testament', represented by the Anaphora of John, Son of Thunder.

*5th Category.* The form 'This bread is the communion of My Body . . . This cup is the communion of My Blood' which recalls the words in I Corinthians xi, 16: 'The cup of the blessing which we bless is it not a communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the Body of Christ?' represented by the Anaphora of St Epiphanius.

*6th Category.* An expanded form, i.e. 'This bread is My Body Which is the meat of righteousness indeed: whoso eateth of It shall live for ever . . . This cup is My Blood Which is the draught of life indeed: whoso drinketh of It hath eternal life', an expansion based on John vi, 54, 55 'He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal life. My Flesh is meat indeed and My Blood is drink indeed', represented by the Anaphora of St Gregory (I) and, with slight variations, by the Anaphora of John, Son of Thunder and the Anaphora of St John Chrysostom.

*7th Category.* An expanded form recalling some event of the Passion, i.e. 'This cup is My Blood Which the lance will cause to gush forth', cf. John xix, 34, represented by the Anaphora of Our Lady, the Holy Mary of twofold virginity, the Mother of God.

*8th Category.* An expanded form without biblical reference, i.e. 'This bread is My Body Which doth not differ from it . . . This cup is My Blood Which doth not differ from it', represented by the Anaphora of St Athanasius.

The Anaphora of St Jacob of Sarug does not have the Words of Institution and, in this respect, agrees with the Anaphora of SS. Addai and Mari of the Nestorian Church.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, Oxford 1896, p. 285.

With regard to the various forms which the Epiclesis assumes in these fourteen Anaphoræ, these may be arranged in seven categories.

*1st Category. Subject invoked* : the Holy Spirit and the Power.<sup>8</sup> *Object affected* : the bread and the wine. *Purpose* : for transmuting the oblation into the Body and the Blood of Christ ; represented by the Anaphoræ of Our Lord and Our God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ, of our Fathers the Apostles, and of St Epiphanius.

*2nd Category. Subject invoked* : the Holy Spirit. *Object affected* : the bread and the wine. *Purpose* : for transmuting the oblation into the Body and the Blood of Christ ; represented by the Anaphora of St Dioscorus and that of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox Fathers.

*3rd Category. Subject invoked* : the Holy Spirit. *Object affected* : the bread and the wine. *Purpose* : (a) for blessing and sanctifying the oblation that it may become the communion of the Body and the Blood of Christ ; (b) that the oblation may be for the remission of guilt of those who draw nigh to it, and for the forgiveness of sins of those who partake thereof ; represented by the Anaphora of St Cyril.

*4th Category. Subject invoked* : the Holy Spirit. *Object affected* : the bread and the wine. *Purpose* : for blessing and sanctifying the oblation that it may become the communion of the Body and the Blood of Christ ; represented by the Anaphora of John, Son of Thunder.

*5th Category. Subject invoked* : the Holy Spirit. *Object affected* : (a) the bread and the wine ; (b) the participants. *Purpose* : (a) for purifying the oblation ; (b) for sanctifying the participants ; (c) for transmuting the oblation into the Body and the Blood of Christ ; (d) that the oblation may be given for the remission of sins and for eternal life unto those who partake thereof ; represented by the Anaphora of St Basil.

*6th Category. Subject invoked* : the Holy Spirit. *Object affected* : (a) the participants ; (b) the bread and the wine. *Purpose* : (a) for purifying the participants of all their sins that they may draw nigh to receive the Divine Mysteries ; (b) for blessing and sanctifying the oblation ; (c) for making the oblation the communion of the Body and the Blood of Christ ; represented by the Anaphora of St John Chrysostom.

*7th Category. Subject invoked* : (a) the Lamb of God ; (b) Mêlos, the fearful fiery sword.<sup>9</sup> *Object affected* : (a) the altar by the descent

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Luke i, 35.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. note 13 on page 12.



## The Anaphoræ of the Ethiopic Church 17

upon it of the Lamb of God ; (b) the bread and the wine by the appearance over them of Mélos, the fearful fiery sword. *Purpose* : for perfecting the Eucharist-Offering ; represented by the Anaphora of St Jacob of Sarug.

One Anaphora, that of Our Lady, the Holy Mary of twofold virginity, the Mother of God, substitutes for the Epiclesis a benediction of the bread and the wine, which Christ Himself is called upon to perform. Three Anaphoræ, namely, those of St Gregory (I) and (II), and that of St Athanasius have no Epiclesis.

The particulars of the fourteen Anaphoræ of the Ethiopic Church which are set out below, include (a) an indication of the pages on which the Ge'ez and Amharic text of each Anaphora is given in the most recent edition of the Ethiopic Euchologion ; (b) references to such critical studies of these Anaphoræ, as have been made by scholars ; (c) an indication of the pages on which the text of each Anaphora appears in the two best editions in English of the Ethiopic Euchologion ; (d) an indication of the days on which each Anaphora is appointed to be celebrated.

### 1.—*The Anaphora<sup>10</sup> of our Fathers the Apostles.*

*TEXT* : *Mashafa Qeddâsé*, Addis Ababa, 1942 E.C. = 1950 A.D., pp. 44-62 ; S. A. B. Mercer, *The Ethiopic Liturgy*, Milwaukee, London, 1915, pp. 393-465 have a photographic reproduction of the text of this Anaphora according to MS. Mercer 3. *TRANSLATION* : Marcos Daoud, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Addis Ababa 1954, pp. 56-78 ; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford 1896, pp. 228-44 ; J. M. Harden, *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy*, London 1928, pp. 31-50. *USE* : On the Feast of any Apostle.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.—*The Anaphora of Our Lord and Our God and Our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

*TEXT* : *Mashafa Qeddâsé*, pp. 63-69 ; J. Ludolf, *Ad suam historiam æthiopicam commentarius*, Francf ad M. 1691, pp. 341-5 (Ge'ez text with Latin translation). *TRANSLATION* : M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 79-88 ; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp.

<sup>10</sup> In Ge'ez 'The Eucharist-Offering'.

<sup>11</sup> The indication for the use of these Anaphoræ is according to M. Daoud, op. cit., and represents present use. The indications given by J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 8-12 are not always in agreement with this use.

61-66. USE: On Khedar 6th=15th November, Feast of the consecration of the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary at the Monastery of Qusqâm in Upper Egypt; on Sanê 20th=27th June, Feast of the consecration of the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary at Philippi; on Nahasê 16th=22nd August, Feast of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary.

3.—*The Anaphora of John, Son of Thunder.*

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 70-81; S. Euringer, 'Die Aethiopischen Anaphoren des Hl. Evangelisten Johannes und des Hl. Jacobus von Sarug' in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XXXIII 1, No. 90, 1934, pp. 5-77 (Critical edition of the Ge'ez text with a German translation and notes). TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 89-103; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 72-88. USE: On Ter 4th=12th January, Feast of St John the Evangelist; Tâkhshâsh 1st-7th=10th-16th December; Maskaram 26th-Khedar 5th=6th October-14th November, Season of Flowers; during the Fast preceding the Feast of the Nativity of Jesus Christ (25th November-6th January); Maskaram 9th-15th=19th-25th September, Harvest Time; on the Feast of any Prophet; at the consecration of a new church; on the Feast of any Apostle.

4.—*The Anaphora of Our Lady, the Holy Mary, of twofold virginity,<sup>12</sup> the Mother of God, which Abba Heryâcos (Cyriacus),<sup>13</sup> bishop of the Province of Behnesâ (Oxyrrhynchus), Egypt, composed through the Holy Spirit.*

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 82-95; S. Euringer, 'Die Aethiopische Anaphora Unserer Herrin Maria' in *Oriens Christianus*, Dritte Serie XII, band 34, Heft 1, pp. 63-102 and Heft 2, pp. 248-62. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 104-121; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 65-71 (part translation only). USE: On the Feasts of the Holy Virgin Mary; Tâkhshâsh 28th=6th January, Eve of the Nativity of Jesus Christ; on Mâgabit 29th=7th April, Feast of the Annunciation; on Teqemt 2nd=12th October, Feast of St Cyriacus (Heryâcos).

<sup>12</sup> i.e. Virgin in body and virgin in spirit. Cf. the Anaphora of our Fathers the Apostles, in the Prayer of Benediction (M. Daoud, op. cit., p. 76) 'Pure Mary who hath sealed the virginity of her conscience and body'.

<sup>13</sup> For remarks on Cyriacus and his works, cf. G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Erster Band (Studi e Testi 118), Città del Vaticano, 1944, p. 475.

5.—*The Anaphora of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox (Fathers).*<sup>14</sup>

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 96-108; S. Euringer, 'Die Anaphora der 318 Rechtgläubigen' in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, Band IV, Heft, 1-2, pp. 125-44 and 266-99. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 122-37; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 104-08 (part translation only). USE: On Maskaram 21st=1st October, Feast of the Holy Virgin Mary; Khedar 8th=17th November, Feast of the Four Living Creatures of the Apocalypse; Khedar 9th=18th November, Feast of the Opening Day of the First Œcumenical Council at Nicæa; Khedar 24th=3rd December, Feast of the Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse; Tâkhshâsh 29th=7th January, Feast of the Nativity of Jesus Christ; Ter 13th=21st January, Feast of the Marriage Feast of Cana; on the Feast of any righteous person.

6.—*The Anaphora of St Athanasius, Patriarch of the City of Alexandria.*

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 109-22; O. Löfgren and S. Euringer, 'Die Anaphora des Heiligen Athanasius' in *Oriens Christianus*, Dritte Serie, Zweiter Band, pp. 243-98. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 138-55; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 94-100 (part translation only). USE: On Genbot 7th=15th May, Feast of St Athanasius; on any Sunday on which no other Feast is commemorated.

7.—*The Anaphora of St Basil.*

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 123-35; S. Euringer, 'Die Äthiopische Anaphora des Heiligen Basilus' in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XXXVI 3, No. 98, 1934, pp. 137-223. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 156-72. USE: On Ter 6th=14th January, Feast of St Basil; on the Feasts of Bishops, priests and Kings; and on any day.

8.—*The Anaphora of Gregory (I), Bishop of Nyssa and Brother of Basil.*<sup>15</sup>

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 136-44; O. Löfgren and S. Euringer, 'Die Beiden Gewöhnlichen Äthiopischen Gregorius-

<sup>14</sup> i.e. the bishops who had assembled at the First Œcumenical Council at Nicæa.

<sup>15</sup> Some MSS. attribute this Anaphora to 'Saint Gregory of Alexandria', presumably St Gregory of Nazianzus.

Anaphoren' in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XXX 2, No. 85, pp. 64-119. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 173-84; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 109-12 (part translation only). USE: From the Wednesday before Palm Sunday to Palm Sunday inclusive; on Ter 21st=29th January, Feast of St Gregory of Nyssa. This Anaphora is termed the Hosanna Anaphora.

9.—*The Anaphora of St Epiphanius, Bishop of the Island of Cyprus.*

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 145-54; O. Löfgren and S. Euringer, 'Die Anaphora des Heiligen Epiphanius, Bischofs von Zypern' in *Oriens Christianus* Dritte Serie, Erster Band, pp. 98-142. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 185-97; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 101-03 (part translation only). USE: On Genbot 17th=25th May, Feast of St Epiphanius; Ter 11th=19th January, Feast of the Epiphany; on Maundy Thursday; during the Rainy Season (Sanê-Nahasê—8th June-5th September).

10.—*The Anaphora of John Chrysostom.*

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 155-63; A. Dillman, *Chrestomathia aethiopica*, Leipzig 1866, pp. 51-56. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 198-208; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 86-93; O. Löfgren and S. Euringer, 'Die Anaphora des Heiligen Johannes Chrysostomus' in *Der Katholik*, Mainz 1913 (Translation in German). USE: On the 27th of each Ethiopic month, Feast of the Saviour of the world; on Magâbit 10th=19th March, Feast of the Invention of the Cross; on Holy Saturday; on every Wednesday and Friday; on Genbot 12th=20th May, Feast of St John Chrysostom.

11.—*The Anaphora of St Cyril.*

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 164-72; O. Löfgren and S. Euringer, 'Die Beiden Äthiopischen Anaphoren des Heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien' in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, Band 8, Heft 3, pp. 210-34, and Band 9, Heft 1-2, pp. 44-86 and Band 9, Heft 3-4, pp. 264-80. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., 209-20; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 132-6 (part translation only). USE: On Ascension Day; on the anniversaries of the death of a person; on the Feasts of Abraham, Job and Elias (Elijah); on Hamlê 3rd 10th July, Feast of St Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria.

12.—*The Anaphora of Jacob, Bishop of Sarug.*

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 173-81; S. Euringer, 'Die Äthiopischen Anaphoren des Hl. Evangelisten Johannes und des Hl. Jacobus von Sarug' in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XXXIII 1, No. 90, 1934, pp. 79-122. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 221-31; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 115-26. USE: On the Feasts of Angels; during the little month of Pâguemên=6th-10th September (11th in Leap-Years); on the fifth Sunday in Lent; on Sanê 27th=4th July, Feast of St Jacob of Sarug.

13.—*The Anaphora of St Dioscorus.*

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 182-7; J. Ludolf, *Lexicon æthiopicum*, London 1661. This Anaphora edited by J. Ludolf and J. M. Wansleb, is in the Appendix to the Lexicon, on pages 11-14 which, however, are unnumbered; O. Löfgren and S. Euringer, 'Die Anaphora des Heiligen Dioscorus von Alexandrien' in *Le Monde orientale*, Upsala, 1932. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 232-8; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 113-16. USE: On the Feast of the Nativity of Jesus Christ; on the Feast of the Epiphany; on Easter Sunday; on Ascension Day; on Whit-Sunday; on the 7th day of each Ethiopic month, the Feast of the Holy Trinity; on Maskaram 7th=17th September, Feast of St Dioscorus.

14.—*The Anaphora of St Gregory (II).*<sup>18</sup>

TEXT: *Mashafa Qeddâsê*, pp. 188-93; O. Löfgren and S. Euringer, 'Die Beiden Gewöhnlichen Äthiopischen Gregorius-Anaphoren' in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XXX 2, No. 85, pp. 120-42. TRANSLATION: M. Daoud, op. cit., pp. 239-46; J. M. Harden, op. cit., pp. 127-31. USE: During the period from the Feast of the Nativity of Jesus Christ to the Fast of Nineveh (the Fast of Nineveh is on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday after the Sunday before Septuagesima Sunday of the Latin Church). This Anaphora is termed the Christmas Anaphora.

It should be noted that the articles, referred to above, by O. Löfgren and S. Euringer have, in addition to a critical edition of the Ge'ez text, a translation of the text of the Anaphora in German together with critical notes.

<sup>18</sup> M. Daoud, op. cit., p. 239, states that this is St Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus (Asia Minor). Some manuscripts (cf. J. M. Harden, op. cit., p. 127) ascribe this Anaphora to St Gregory 'the Illuminator', the Apostle of Armenia.

## II

The sections which contain the Words of Institution and the Epiclesis of the above-mentioned Anaphoræ, are set out below in parallel columns for the purpose of comparison. The order, however, in which the pairs of Anaphoræ are given, has been determined by the respective length of the sections, and it does not correspond to the order in which these Anaphoræ are printed in the Euchologion which is that given above.

The Roman numerals which are placed after certain passages in the first Anaphora, namely, that of the Apostles, should be carefully noted, since they will be found repeated in the other Anaphoræ. Where a Roman numeral is given in an Anaphora, it must be understood thereby, that the passage indicated by the Roman numeral in the Anaphora of the Apostles is found also in the Anaphora in question, though the position of this passage may not necessarily be the same as that occupied by this same passage in the Anaphora of the Apostles.

As regards the rite of Consignation in the Anaphora of St Basil, its position is different from that in the other Anaphoræ, in that it occurs immediately after the Elevation of the Oblation, at the words 'Holy Things to the holy'. In the Anaphora of St Gregory (II) the position of the rite of Consignation is not indicated.

It should be noted, moreover, that, wherever the word 'Body' occurs in the following translation, the word used in the Ge'ez text is 'Sêgâ', the primary sense of which is 'Flesh'.

## ANAPHORA OF THE APOSTLES

[*The Words of Institution*]

*Deacon* : Priests, lift up your hands<sup>1</sup> (I).

*Priest* : In that night in which they betrayed Him, He took bread in His holy, blessed and spotless hands (*here the priest raises the bread* [II]) :

ANAPHORA OF THE  
LORD JESUS CHRIST

[*The Words of Institution*]

*Priest* : In that night in which they betrayed Him,

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : He took bread in His holy, blessed and spotless hands (II) :



*People* : We believe that this is He, truly we believe<sup>2</sup> (III).

*Priest* : He looked up to heaven toward Thee, His Father, gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), and brake (*here the priest shall indent the bread slightly with his thumb in five places, without making any separation* [IV]) and gave to His disciples and said unto them : Take, eat : This (*pointing*) bread is My Body Which is broken for you for the remission of sin.

*People* : Amen, amen, amen : we believe and confess ; we glorify Thee, our Lord and our God : that this is He, we truly believe<sup>3</sup> (V).

*Priest* : And likewise also the cup, giving thanks, blessing (*three signings of the cross*) and sanctifying, He delivered it to His disciples, and said unto them : Take, drink : This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood Which is shed for you for the redemption of many. (*Here the priest shall move the cup with his hand in the sign of the cross* [VI]).

*People* : Amen, amen, amen : we believe and confess : we glorify Thee, our Lord and our God : that this is He, we truly believe<sup>4</sup> (VII).

[*Anamnesis*]

*Priest* : And as often as ye do this, make memorial of Me.

*People* : We proclaim Thy death, Lord, and Thine holy resurrection : we believe Thine

*People* : (III).

*Priest* : He gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), and brake (IV), and gave to His disciples,

saying unto them : Take, eat : This (*pointing*) bread is My Body Which is broken for you for the remission of sin.

*People* : (V).

*Priest* : And as often as ye do this, make memorial of Me. And likewise also the cup, putting wine into it, giving thanks, blessing (*three signings of the cross*) and sanctifying, Thou gavest unto them. Truly, This (*pointing*) is Thy Blood Which was shed for our sins (VI).

*People* : (VII).

[*Anamnesis*]

*Priest* : Now also, Lord, making memorial of Thy death and Thy resurrection, we believe in Thee.

*People* : (VIII).

ascension and Thy second coming. We glorify Thee and confess Thee: we offer our prayer unto Thee and supplicate Thee, our Lord and our God<sup>s</sup> (VIII).

*Priest*: Now also, Lord, we make memorial of Thy death and Thy resurrection (and) confess Thee.

[*Epiclesis*]

*Priest*: And we offer unto Thee this (*pointing*) bread and this (*pointing*) cup, giving thanks unto Thee: and thereby Thou hast made us worthy of the joy to stand before Thee and to do Thee priestly service. We pray Thee, Lord, and beseech Thee, that Thou send the Holy Spirit and Power<sup>a</sup> upon this (*pointing*) bread and upon this (*pointing*) cup: may He make them the Body and the Blood of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ for ever and ever. (*One signing of the cross over the bread, one signing over the cup, and one signing over the bread and the cup* [IX].

*People*: Amen. Lord, have pity upon us: Lord, spare us: Lord, have mercy upon us<sup>7</sup> (X).

*Deacon*: With all the heart let us beseech the Lord our God that He vouchsafe unto us the good communion of the Holy Spirit (XI).

*People*: As it was, is and shall be unto generations of generations, for ever and ever<sup>a</sup> (XII).

[*Epiclesis*]

*Priest*: And we offer unto Thee this (*pointing*) bread and this (*pointing*) cup, giving thanks unto Thee alone, O God the Saviour of the world, for Thou hast bidden us to stand before Thee and to do priestly service unto Thee. Therefore, we, Thy servants, glorify Thee, O Lord.

*People*: Therefore, we, Thy servants, glorify Thee, O Lord.

*Priest*: Lord, we pray and beseech Thee that Thou send the Holy Spirit and Power upon this (*pointing*) bread and upon this (*pointing*) cup: may He make them the Body and the Blood (IX) of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ for ever.

*People*: (X).

*Priest*: Moreover, we offer unto Thee this thanksgiving, etc.

*Deacon*: (XI).

*People*: (XII).

[Consignation]

*The priest shall then dip his finger into the Blood and sign the Body (XIII).*

*Priest :* Give it together unto all of them who partake of it that it may be unto them for sanctification and fulfilling with the Holy Spirit and for confirmation of true faith, that they may hallow and praise Thee and Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ with the Holy Spirit.<sup>9</sup>

*People :* Amen.

*Priest :* Grant unto us that we may be united through Thy Holy Spirit, and heal us by this oblation (προσφορά) that we may live in Thee for ever<sup>10</sup> (XIV).  
*The people repeat his words (XV).*

ANAPHORA OF OUR LADY MARY  
[*The Words of Institution*]

*Priest :* In that night in which He delivered His soul to death . . . Judas who betrayed Him.

*Deacon :* (I).

*Priest :* At that time, Jesus Christ took bread in His holy, blessed, pure and spotless hands (II);

*People :* (III).

*Priest :* looked up to heaven towards His Father and interceded with Him Who begat Him, and committed His disciples to Him to keep them from all evil: blessed, being Himself blessed (*three signings of the cross*), brake, being Himself

[Consignation]

(XIII.)

*Priest :* Feed Thy people in truth and holiness: grant, Lord, unity unto us who receive of Thy Mystery that we may be truly filled with the Holy Spirit: grant power and confirmation of faith in righteousness, that we may always give thanks unto Thee and Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ with the Holy Spirit.

*People :* Amen.

*Priest :* (XIV).

(XV.)

ANAPHORA OF ST GREGORY I  
[*The Words of Institution*]

*Deacon :* (I).

*Priest :* He took bread in His hands which were pierced, with which He had formed our father Adam, He being pure without sin, and undefiled without deceit (II);

*People :* (III).

*Priest :* He gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), brake (IV) and gave to His disciples and said unto them: Take, nourish yourselves: This (*pointing*) bread is My Body Which is the meat of righteousness indeed [some MSS. add:

holy (IV), and gave to His disciples and said unto them: Take, eat: This (*pointing*) bread is My Body Which is given for you as a ransom for all the world.

*People* : (V).

*Priest* : And, likewise, the cup (*three signings of the cross*), after they had supped. He looked up and said: Take, drink: This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood Which the lance will cause to gush forth for you (VI).

*People* : (VII).

[*Anamnesis*]

*Priest* : And as often as ye do this, ye shall make a memorial of My death, and proclaim a memorial of My resurrection.

*People* : (VIII).

'and which is given for the salvation of all the world. Whoso eateth of It shall live for ever]: eat of It, all of you.

*People* : (V).

*Priest* : Moreover, He looked upon this (*pointing*) cup, the water of life with wine, gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), sanctified and delivered to His disciples and said unto them: Take, drink: This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood Which is the draught of life indeed. Whoso drinketh of It hath eternal life: Take, drink of It, all of you, that It may be unto you for life and salvation (VI).

*People* : (VII).

*Priest* : Ye who are gathered together in this House of Prayer in which all the faithful of both sexes pray.

[*Anamnesis*]

*People* : (VIII).

[*Ceremony of the Hosanna*]

*Priest* : In the beginning was the Word, etc. [*procession round the altar to the accompaniment of the singing of the Hosanna on Palm Sunday + suffrages. Then the prayer: O Holy Trinity, Upholder of the whole world, etc.*].

[Benediction]

*Priest* : O Lord, as then, bless, break and give this (*pointing*) bread (*one signing of the cross over the bread*).

*People* : Amen.

*Priest* : O Lord, as then, seal, sanctify and give this (*pointing*) cup (*one signing of the cross over the cup, and one signing over the bread and the cup*).

*People* : Amen.

*Priest* : And this my ministry, purify, ratify and approve, etc.

*People* : (X).

*Priest* : Lord, have mercy upon us, O Christ (thrice).

*The people repeat his words.*

*People* : (X).

*Priest* : Bless me (*one signing of the cross over the bread*) and sanctify my soul (*one signing over the cup*) and purify my body (*one signing over the cup, and one signing over the bread and the cup*), so that I may receive Thy life-giving Body and drink Thy Blood, the Blood of the Divine Mystery.

*Deacon* : (XI).

*People* : (XII).

*Deacon* : (XI).

*People* : (XII).

[Consignation]

(XIII).

*Priest* : In uniting (the Body and the Blood), give it to all them who partake of it, that it may be unto them for life everlasting.

*People* : Amen.

*Priest* : (XIV).

*People* : (XV).

[Consignation]

(XIII).

*Priest* : In uniting (the Body and the Blood), give it to all them who partake of it, that it may be unto them for life everlasting.

*People* : Amen.

*Priest* : (XIV).

*People* : (XV).

ANAPHORA OF ST ATHANASIUS  
[*The Words of Institution*]

*Priest* : This (*pointing*) bread, even Thy Body, we offer unto Thee, and this (*pointing*) cup, even Thy Blood, we offer unto Thee, because of our sin and our iniquity and because of the folly of Thy people. Thou didst not hide the mystery of the greatness of Thy divinity from Thy disciples.

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : Thou didst take bread before them (II).

*People* : (III).

*Priest* : Thou didst give thanks, bless (*three signings of the cross*), brake (IV), and give to them, saying : Take, eat : This (*pointing*) bread is My Body Which doth not differ from it.

*People* : (V).

*Priest* : And, likewise, also the cup, mingling water with wine therein, Thou didst give thanks, bless, sanctify (*three signings of the cross*), and give to them, saying : Take, drink : This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood Which doth not differ from it (VI).

*People* : (VII).

[*Anamnesis*]

*Priest* : As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, proclaim My death and My resurrection and believe My ascension into Heaven, hoping for My second coming in glory.

ANAPHORA OF ST GREGORY II  
[*The Words of Institution*]

*Priest* : And mingle, O Lord, our humanity with Thy divinity, Thy greatness with our humility, and our humility with Thy greatness,

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : that we may offer unto Thee this (*pointing*) Oblation which Thou didst give unto Thy disciples,

*People* : (III).

*Priest* : saying : Take, eat : This (*pointing*) bread is My Body Which is broken for you and is given that sin may be forgiven and for eternal life (*three signings of the cross*).

*People* : (V).

*Priest* : And, likewise, Thou didst speak to them over the cup, saying : Take, drink : This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood Which is shed for you and is given that sin may be forgiven and for eternal life (*three signings of the cross* (VI).

*People* : (VII).

[*Anamnesis*]

*Priest* : And thus make memorial of Me—Thou didst say unto them—as often as ye eat of this bread and drink of this cup (IX), proclaim My death, believing in My resurrection.



*People* : (VIII).

*Priest* : As Thou didst not hide from Thy disciples the mystery of the greatness of Thy divinity, etc.,

*People* : (X).

*Priest* : Because the cunning oppressors who pity not Thy flock have multiplied.

*Deacon* : (XI).

*People* : (XII).

[*Consignation*]

(XIII).

*Priest* : Give it together unto all of them, sanctifying the one through the other<sup>11</sup> (IX). O Son, cry aloud as a sufferer and say : Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani ; and while it is in their mouth,<sup>12</sup> say : Abba, My Father, have compassion and mercy on those who eat My Body and drink My Blood.

*Priest* : (XIV).

*People* : (XV).

ANAPHORA OF ST CYRIL

[*The Words of Institution*]

*Priest* : In that night in which they betrayed Him,

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : He took bread in His holy, blessed and spotless hands, looked up unto heaven, toward Thee, His Father (II),

*People* : (III).

*Priest* : gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), brake (IV) and said : Take, eat : This (*pointing*) bread is My Body Which is broken for you and is given as a ransom for all the world, that sin may be forgiven.

*People* : (X).

*Priest* : And make memorial of Me, etc.

*People* : (VIII).

*Deacon* : (XI).

*People* : (XII).

*Priest* : With glory and praise and thanksgiving and panegyric we offer (it) unto Thee, that to all who partake of it, it may be for joy and delight, for a physic and a help, for the renewal of the body and for the healing of the spirit and the soul ; and all together praise Thee with one voice for ever and ever.

*Priest* : (XIV).

*People* : (XV).

ANAPHORA OF

ST JACOB OF SARUG

[*The Words of Institution*]

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : Thou didst take bread in Thy holy hands to give to Thy pure apostles (some MSS. 'holy disciples') (II).

*People* : (III).

*Priest* : Thou Who didst bless at that time, bless also now this (*pointing*) bread (some MSS. add 'with blessing') (*three signings of the cross*) : Thou Who didst break at that time (some MSS. add 'with thanksgiving'), break also now this (*pointing*) bread (IV).

*People* : (V).

*Priest* : And, again, after they had supped, He took the cup, gave thanks, blessed, sanctified (*three signings of the cross*) and said unto His disciples : Take, drink : This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood of the New Testament Which is shed for you, as a ransom for all the world, that sin may be forgiven (VI).

*People* : (VII).

*Priest* : Yea, Lord, our God, hearken to the prayer of Thy servants, and graciously accept those who worship before Thy face.

[*Anamnesis*]  
*People* : (VIII).

[*Epiclesis*]

*Priest* : Let Mêlos, the flaming sword,<sup>13</sup> appear, and let the Heaven be opened through Thy righteousness, and with Thy will, let Thy Holy Living Spirit be sent forth, come and inhabit and rest upon<sup>16</sup> this bread and cup, and bless and sanctify (them) that they may become the Communion of the Body and the Blood of Thy beloved Son,

*People* : (V).

*Priest* : And, again, Thou didst mingle a cup of wine with water to give to Thy holy disciples (some MSS. 'pure apostles') : Thou Who didst sanctify at that time, sanctify also now, Lord, this (*pointing*) cup (*three signings of the cross*) : Thou Who didst administer at that time, administer also now this cup (VI).

*People* : (VII).

*Priest* : Thou Who didst unite at that time, unite also now this cup (some MSS. have 'bread') with this (*pointing*) bread (some MSS. have 'cup'), that it may be Thy Body and Thy Blood.

[*Consignation*]  
(XIII.)

[*Anamnesis*]  
*People* : (VIII).

*Deacon* : In heaven be your heart.

*People* : According to Thy mercy, our God, and not according to our sins (thrice).

[*Epiclesis*]

*Priest* : Let the Door of Light be revealed and the Gates of Glory be opened<sup>14</sup> and the Curtain which is before the face of the Father be drawn back, and let Him descend—behold, the Lamb of God—and sit upon this (*pointing*) table of the priesthood which is prepared before me, Thy servant ; and let Mêlos, the fearful fiery sword,<sup>15</sup> be sent

our Lord and our God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ (IX), that it may be for the remission of guilt to those who draw nigh, and for the forgiveness of sin to those who partake of it.

*People* : (X).

*Deacon* : (XI).

*People* : (XII).

[*Consignation*]

(XIII).

*Priest* : And to all them who in true faith partake of it and receive of it, may it be for mercy, for compassion, for healing, for help, for life of soul and body, for remission of guilt, for forgiveness of sin, for resurrection from the dead, and for new life for ever.

*People* : Amen.

*Priest* : (XIV).

*People* : (XV).

#### ANAPHORA OF ST BASIL

[*The Words of Institution*]

*Priest* : He left unto us this great mystery of godliness, being pleased to give Himself up to death for the life of all the world.

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : He took bread into His holy, pure, spotless, blessed and life-giving hands (II) :

*People* : (III).

*Priest* : He looked up to heaven toward Thee, His Father,

forth and appear over this (*pointing*) bread and cup (IX) and perfect this Eucharist.

*People* : (X).

*Deacon* : (XI).

*People* : (XII).

*Priest* : Grant it together unto all of them who partake of it, that it may be unto them for life and for remission of sin.

*People* : Amen.

*Priest* : (XIV).

*People* : (XV).

#### ANAPHORA OF THE EVANGELIST

JOHN

[*The Words of Institution*]

*Priest* : In that night in which they seized Him,

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : since He Himself willed to be slain . . . and scatter the priests of idols : He took bread in His holy, blessed hands—the dowry of Thy bride and the bill of divorcement of the Synagogue which Thou didst divorce . . . (II) :

*People* : (III).

*Priest* : He gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*),

the God and Lord of all Who is above all, gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), brake (IV), and gave to His holy disciples and to His pure apostles and said unto them: Take, eat of it, all of you. This (*pointing*) bread is My Body Which is broken for you for the remission of sin, and thus make memorial of Me.

*People* : (V).

*Priest* : And, likewise, also the cup, after they had supped, mingled it with water and wine, gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), sanctified, tasted and gave to His holy disciples and to His pure apostles, and said unto them: Take, drink of it, all of you: This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood Which is shed for you for the remission of sin, and thus make memorial of Me (VI).

*People* : (VII).

[*Anamnesis*]

*Priest* : As often as ye eat of this bread and drink of this cup, proclaim My death and believe in My resurrection and make memorial of Me until I come.

*People* : (VIII).

*Priest* : Again, also, we desire to make memorial of His holy sufferings and His resurrection from the dead and His ascension into the heaven and His sitting at Thy right hand, O Father, and His second appearance, coming in terrible majesty, full of glory. We offer unto Thee this offering which is Thine,

brake (IV) and gave to His disciples and said unto them: This (*pointing*) is My Body (some MSS. add 'Which is the meat of righteousness'): whoso eateth of it shall not die, and whoso partaketh of it shall not perish: Take, eat of it, all of you.

*People* : (V).

*Priest* : And, likewise, He gave praise over the cup (*three signings of the cross*) and said: This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood of the New Testament (some MSS. add: 'whoso drinketh of it shall not die, and whoso partaketh of it shall not perish'): Take, drink of it, all of you (VI).

*People* : (VII).

[*Anamnesis*]

*Priest* : It is a wondrous sign to those who worship Him . . . and, likewise, make memorial of Me, as often as ye are gathered together.

*People* : (VIII).

*Priest* : We, also, Lord, who are gathered together to make memorial of Thy sufferings and to be partakers with Thee in Thy resurrection from the dead, beseech Thee, Lord, our God, as this bread which was scattered among the mountains and the hills, in the forests and the valleys, being gathered together

through all things and for all things and in all things.

*Deacon* : Worship God with fear.

became one perfect bread,<sup>16</sup> likewise gather us together through Thy divinity, out of every evil thought of sin into Thy perfect faith, etc.

[*Epiclesis*]

*Priest* : (*in a low voice*) We beseech Thee, O Lord, our God, we, Thy sinful and unworthy servants, and worship Thee, by the pleasure of Thy Father, that Thou send down Thy Holy Spirit upon this Offering which is set before Thee, that He may purify it and sanctify us also through Thy Holy Things,<sup>17</sup> and make that this (*pointing*) bread may become the holy Body, even that of our Lord (some MSS. add : 'and our Saviour') Jesus Christ (*three signings of the cross*), that it may be given for the remission of sin and for eternal life unto them who partake of it.

*People* : Amen. We believe : again amen.

*Priest* : And make also that this (*pointing*) cup may become the precious Blood, even that of our Lord (some MSS. add 'and our Saviour') Jesus Christ (*three signings of the cross*), that it may be given for the remission of sin and for eternal life unto them who partake of it (*signing of the cross over the bread and the cup*).

*People* : Amen. We believe : again amen (X).

*Priest* : Make us worthy through Thy Holy Things,<sup>18</sup> etc.

[*Epiclesis*]

Let the Door of Light be revealed, let the Gates of Glory be opened,<sup>14</sup> let Thy Living and Holy Spirit come from on high, descend, sit upon, inhabit and linger upon<sup>15</sup> and bless the Eucharist-Offering of this bread, and sanctify the cup, in order that this (*pointing*) bread may be the Communion of Thy Life-giving Body (*one signing of the cross*), and also this (*pointing*) cup, the Communion of Thy expiatory Blood (IX),

*People* : (X).

[*Suffrages by the deacon*]

*Deacon* : (XI).

*Deacon* : (XI).

*Priest* : so that to every one who believeth in the Living Father and in the Only Son Who arose from Him and in the Holy Spirit Who is living and holy and unsearchable,

[*Consignation*]

(XIII)

and to every one who shall partake of Thy Body and Thy Blood, they may be for hope, salvation, forgiveness of sin, resurrection from the dead, light in the kingdom of heaven and everlasting life. Amen.

*People* : (XII).

*People* : (XII).

*Priest* : That, as at this, so also at every time, Thy great and holy Name may be glorified, blessed and extolled in all things. At all times may it be glorified and blessed together with Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit.

*Priest* : In uniting (the Body and the Blood) give it to all them who partake of it, that it may be unto them for sanctification and for fulfilling with the Holy Spirit, so that we may thank Thee always and Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ for ever and ever. Amen.

*Priest* : (XIV).

*Priest* : (XIV).

*People* : (XV).

*People* : (XV).

#### ANAPHORA OF ST EPIPHANIUS

[*The Words of Institution*]

*Priest* : In that night, on the evening of the fifth day, at the dawn of the sixth,<sup>10</sup> as He sat in the house of Lazarus, His friend,

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : He took into His hands unleavened wheaten bread of that which they had brought unto Him for supper (II),

#### ANAPHORA OF ST DIOSCORUS

[*The Words of Institution*]

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : In that night in which they betrayed Him, He took bread in His holy, blessed and spotless hands (II),



People : (III).

Priest : gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), brake (IV), and gave to His disciples and said unto them : Take, eat : This (*pointing*) bread is the Communion of My Body Which is broken for you.

People : (V).

Priest : And again He mingled the cup of wine with water, gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), sanctified and gave to His apostles, and said unto them : Take, drink : This (*pointing*) cup is the Communion of My Blood Which is shed for you (VI).

People : (VII).

[*Anamnesis*]

Priest : Let this service be unto you for the memorial of My death and My resurrection.

People : (VIII).

[*Epiclesis*]

Priest : And we, also, our Lord and our God, pray Thee and beseech Thee and ask of Thy goodness, O Lover of man, that Thou send the Holy Spirit and Power upon this (*pointing*) bread and upon this (*pointing*) cup : may He make this bread (*one signing of the cross*) Thy Holy Body and this cup (*one signing of*

People : (III).

Priest : looked up to heaven toward Thee, His Father, gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), brake (IV), and gave to His holy disciples and His pure apostles and said unto them : Take, eat : This (*pointing*) bread is My Body Which is broken for you for the remission of sin.

People : (V).

Priest : And again He mingled water with wine, gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), sanctified and delivered it to His holy disciples and His pure apostles, and said unto them : Take, drink : This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood Which is shed for you, for the ransom of many (VI).

People : (VII).

Priest : The Jews seized Him, etc.

(*Anamnesis*)

People : (VIII).

[*Epiclesis*]

Priest : They took Him down from the Tree, etc. . . . and on the fiftieth day He sent unto them the Holy Spirit in the likeness of fire, and they spake in the speech of all lands : so likewise, as Thou didst with them, send the Holy Spirit upon this (*pointing*) bread and upon this (*pointing*) cup : may He

*the cross*) the Blood from Thy side Which speaketh (*one signing of the cross over the bread and the cup*).

*People* : (X).

*Deacon* : (XI).

*People* : (XII).

[*Consignation*]

(XIII).

*Priest* : Give it together unto them who partake of it, that it may be unto them for blessing, for remission of sin, for joy and for rejoicing, for renewal of soul and body and spirit,<sup>80</sup> and for confirmation of faith until (their) last breath.

*People* : Amen.

*Priest* : (XIV).

*People* : (XV).

ANAPHORA OF  
ST JOHN CHRYSOSTOM  
[*The Words of Institution*]

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : He took bread in His holy, blessed and spotless hands (II).

*People* : (III).

*Priest* : looked up to heaven toward Thee, His Father, the God and Lord of all, Who is

make them the Body and the Blood of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ for ever (IX). As Thou didst say : Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood dwelleth in Me and I in him.

*People* : (X).

*Deacon* : (XI).

*People* : (XII).

[*Consignation*]

(XIII).

*Priest* : Give it together unto all Thy people, that it may be unto them for life and for purification from sin for ever.

*People* : Amen.

*Priest* : (XIV).

*People* : (XV).

ANAPHORA OF THE  
318 ORTHODOX

[*The Words of Institution*]

*Priest* : And He chose twelve apostles from among them, walked with them and showed to them the Mystery of the Order of the Offering.

*Deacon* : (I).

*Priest* : He took bread before them (II).

*People* : (III).

*Priest* : blessed (*three signings of the cross*), brake (IV), and said :  
Take eat : This (*pointing*) bread,

above all, gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), brake (IV), and gave to His disciples and said unto them: This (*pointing*) is My Body Which is the meat of righteousness; who-so eateth of it hath eternal life: Take, eat of it, all of you.

People: (V).

Priest: And, likewise, also the cup, mingling water with wine, He gave thanks, blessed (*three signings of the cross*), sanctified and gave to His disciples and said unto them: This (*pointing*) is My Blood Which is the draught of life indeed; who-so drinketh of it hath eternal life: Take, drink of it, all of you (VI).

People: (VII).

[*Anamnesis*]

Priest: It is a sign unto you and unto them who (shall come) after you; and thus make memorial of Me until I come; and whenever ye gather in My Name, proclaim My death and My resurrection and My ascension into the heavens.

People: (VIII).

Priest: And we, also, who are gathered together proclaim the sufferings of Him Who suffereth not, and we proclaim the death of Him Who dieth not, etc.<sup>24</sup>

is My Body Which is broken for you for the remission of sin.

People: (V).

Priest: And, likewise, He blessed (*three signings of the cross*) the cup also and said: Take, drink: This (*pointing*) cup is My Blood Which is shed for you for the remission of sin (VI).

People: (VII).

Priest: At that time, Jesus said: My soul is sorrowful, etc.<sup>21</sup>

[*Anamnesis*]

Priest: And when He had said this to Adam, His servant, etc.<sup>22</sup>

People: (VIII).

Priest: Let Thy mercy, Lord, be upon us according as we hope in Thee.<sup>23</sup>

People: According to Thy mercy, our God, and not according to our sins.

Priest: And let our gathering together be like the gathering together of Thy disciples, etc.

Deacon: (XI).

People: (XII).

## [Consignation]

(XIII.)

*Priest* : Give it together unto all them who partake of it, that it may be unto them for purity and for life unto them who receive of it, so that by its appearance the thorn of sin may be burnt, iniquity may be rooted out, wickedness may be destroyed, and the soul recover perfectly from her iniquity.

## [Epiclesis]

*Deacon* : Bow your heads before God.

*Priest* : (*in a low voice*) We pray and beseech Thee that, as Thou didst send Thine Holy Spirit upon Thine holy disciples and pure apostles, so also send upon us this Thine Holy Spirit Who sanctifieth our souls and our bodies and spirits, that we may be pure through Him from all our sins, and that we may draw nigh to receive Thy divine Mystery, for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever. (*In a loud voice*) : Lord, remember the covenant of Thy word which Thou didst establish with our fathers and with Thine holy apostles to send upon us this Thine Holy Spirit Whom the world cannot receive. Thou hast taught us to call upon Thee, saying : Our Father Who art in the heaven ; hallowed be Thy Name ; Thy kingdom come. May this Holy Spirit Who is neither searchable nor inferior, come

## [Epiclesis]

*Priest* : Let the Door of Light be revealed and let the Gates of Glory be opened, and let the Holy Spirit be sent from the place of Thy hidden essence, let Him descend, come and shine upon this (*pointing*) bread, that it may be the Body of Christ our God (*one signing of the cross*), and that the taste<sup>25</sup> of this (*pointing*) cup may be changed and may become the Blood of Christ our God (*one signing of the cross over the cup, and one signing of the cross over the bread and the cup*).

from above the highest heaven to bless this (*pointing*) bread and to sanctify this (*pointing*) cup, to make this bread the Communion of Thy life-giving Body (*one signing of the cross over the bread*) and also to make this (*pointing*) cup the Communion of Thy compassionate Blood (*one signing of the cross over the cup and one signing of the cross over the bread and the cup*).

People : (X).

Deacon : (XI).

People : (XII).

People : (X).

[*Consignation*]

(XIII.)

*Priest* : May He be united to this bread and to this cup, that they may be for sanctification, for purification from defilement and for resurrection from the dead, for the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven and for everlasting life.

People : Amen.

*Priest* : (XIV).

People : (XV).

*Priest* : And have pity on, and be gracious to the entire company of the One, Holy Catholic Church, etc.

People : Amen.

*Priest* : (XIV).

People : (XV).

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Greek Liturgy of St Mark : ὁ δῆκνος : Ἐκτείνετε [οἱ πρεσβύτεροι]. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, Oxford 1896, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Anaphoræ of St Basil and of St Cyril of the Coptic Church : Tennahti je phai pe henoumethmèi. amèn. *Kitāb ul-Quddāsāt ath-Thalāthāt*. (Book of the Three Anaphoræ), Cairo 1936, pp. 222 and 511.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Anaphoræ of St Basil, of St Gregory and of St Cyril of the Coptic Church [St Gregory and St Cyril, 'Ἀμήν] Πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ δοξαζομεν. *Kitāb ul-Quddāsāt ath-Thalāthāt*, pp. 223, 358 and 512.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Kitāb ul-Quddāsāt ath-Thalāthāt*, pp. 225, 360 and 514.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Anaphoræ of St Basil, of St Gregory and of St Cyril of the Coptic Church [St Basil : 'Ἀμήν, ἁμήν, ἁμήν] Τὸν θάνατόν σου Κύριε καταγγέλλομεν καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σου ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦμεν. Σὲ αἰνοῦμεν σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν Κύριε καὶ δευμεθά σου ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν *Kitāb ul-Quddāsāt ath-Thalāthāt*, pp. 228, 362 and 516.

<sup>6</sup> The term 'the Power' in conjunction with the Holy Spirit has its ultimate source in Luke i, 35 : 'The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Most High shall overshadow thee'. However, for its use in the Liturgy, cf. the Eucharist-Prayer of the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I, p. 105) : πλήρωσον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the Anaphoræ of St Basil and of St Gregory [St Basil] : 'Ἀμήν. Κύριε ἐλέησον (thrice). [St Gregory] : 'Ἀμήν, ἁμήν, ἁμήν. Κύριε ἐλέησον. *Kitāb ul-Quddāsāt ath-Thalāthāt*, pp. 233 and 367.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the Greek Liturgy of St Mark (F. E. Brightman, op. cit., p. 134), the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 107), and the Anaphoræ of St Basil, of St Gregory and of Saint Cyril of the Coptic Church (*Kitāb ul-Quddāsāt ath-Thalāthāt*, pp. 269, 399 and 528) : Ὡσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐστὶν καὶ ἔσται εἰς γενεὰν [Serapion γενεὰς ; St Basil and St Gregory : ἀπὸ γενεὰς εἰς γενεὰν καὶ πάντα τοὺς . . .] γενεῶν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἁμήν. Also the Ethiopic Church Ordinances (F. E. Brightman, op. cit., p. 190 : 'As it was, is and shall be unto generations of generations and world without end. Amen.'

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Ordinances (F. E. Brightman, op. cit., p. 190) : [Epiclesis] 'We beseech Thee that Thou wouldst send Thine Holy Spirit on the oblation of this church : give it together unto all them that partake [for] sanctification and for fulfilling with the Holy Spirit and for confirming true faith, that they may laud and praise Thee in Thy Son Jesus Christ, through Whom to Thee be glory and dominion in the Holy Church both now and ever and world without end. Amen.'

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the Testamentum Domini (J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, *The Testamentum of our Lord*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 75) : 'But grant that all those who partake and receive of Thy holy things may be made one with Thee, so that they may be filled with the Holy Spirit, for the confirmation of the faith in truth, that they may lift up always a doxology to Thee, and to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, by Whom praise and might [be] unto Thee, with Thy Holy Spirit for ever and ever'.

<sup>11</sup> i.e. the Body through the Blood, and the Blood through the Body.

<sup>12</sup> i.e. while the Holy Oblation is in the mouth of the communicant.

<sup>13</sup> For remarks on this name 'Mēlos', cf. S. Euringer, 'Die Äthiopischen Anaphoren des Hl. Evangelisten Johannes, etc.' in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XXXIII 1, No. 90, 1934, p. 111, and O. Löfgren, 'Die Beiden Äthiopischen Anaphoren des Heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien' in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, Band 9, Heft 1-2, 1933, pp. 83-4. Both S. Euringer and O. Löfgren mention the occurrence of this name in Abyssinian magical texts (W. H. Worrell,



## The Anaphoræ of the Ethiopic Church 41

'Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen' in *Z. Ass. Bdd.* 23, 24, 29). O. Löfgren adds that this 'fiery sword' is probably to be identified with the 'flaming sword' of Genesis iii, 24. As the function of this 'flaming sword', however, was to guard the way to the Tree of Life, no purpose would be served in introducing it into an Epiclesis. The true explanation of this 'flaming sword' is to be found in the Eucharist-Prayer of the Anaphora of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox Fathers, where we read: 'He (the Father) did not become weary, nor did He rest as a man resteth, but the sword of fire coming out of His mouth, what He hath spoken is immediately accomplished' (M. Daoud, *op. cit.*, p. 125). It appears therefore, that we may equate this sword of fire with the Logos.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the Syriac Anaphora of St John Maro, *Missale chaldaicum iuxta ritum ecclesiae nationis Maronitarum*, Kuzhaya, 1855, p. 125: 'And may there be opened, O Lord, the gates of heaven and be revealed the gates of light, and may there come and dwell Thine Holy Spirit from the heights above and descend upon me and upon this oblation'.

<sup>15</sup> For the expression 'come and inhabit and rest upon', cf. the expression in the Epiclesis of the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis: ἐπιδημοῦσθω Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ ἀγιὸς σου Λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τούτον, κ.τ.λ. (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I, p. 106). The verb ἐπιδημῆσαι is habitually used of the Incarnation.

<sup>16</sup> For this passage, cf. (a) The Didache or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, chap. ix, par. 4: ὡς περ ἦν τοῦτο [τὸ] κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἐν K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. I, p. 323 (The Loeb Classical Library); (b) The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis: καὶ ὡς περ ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος ἐσκορπισμένος ἦν ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθεὶς ἐγένετο εἰς ἓν (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. I, p. 106. Cf. also, *Ap. Constt.*, vii, 25; St Athanasius, *De Virginit.* 13 (ii, 117); St Cyp. *Ep.* lxiii, 13).

<sup>17</sup> For the passage 'that He may purify it . . . Holy Things', the Coptic with the accompanying Arabic translation has: 'that He may purify them (the bread and the wine), transform them and manifest them as a sanctification for Thy saints', Anaphora of St Basil (*The Three Anaphoræ*, Cairo, 1936, p. 230). The passage which follows, namely, 'and make that this bread . . . who partake of it' is according to the Coptic text with its accompanying Arabic translations, as follows: 'and that He may make, on the one hand (μὲν), this bread the Holy Body of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, given for the remission of sins and for eternal life unto them who shall partake of it, and this cup also, on the other hand (δὲ), the Precious Blood of the New Testament of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, given for the remission of sins and for eternal life unto them who shall partake of it', Anaphora of St Basil (*The Three Anaphoræ*, pp. 231-2).

<sup>18</sup> 'Make us worthy through Thy Holy Things', the Coptic with the accompanying Arabic translation has: 'Make us all worthy, our Master, to receive of Thy Holy Things', Anaphora of St Basil (*The Three Anaphoræ*, p. 233). It should be noted in this Anaphora that the Consignation occurs, as in the Coptic Anaphora of St Basil, immediately after the Elevation with its accompanying words 'Holy Things to the holy'. The Ethiopic version of St Basil is considered to have been made from the Arabic translation of the Coptic text of the Anaphora of St Basil; cf. S. Euringer, 'Die Äthiopische Anaphora des Heiligen Basilii' in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XXXVI 3, No. 98, p. 220.

<sup>19</sup> The day being reckoned from sunset to sunset, the dawn of the sixth day would be Thursday evening, shortly after sunset.

<sup>20</sup> On a possible equation of the expression 'soul and body and spirit' with the Ancient Egyptian trichotomy 'body, soul and ka'. Cf. F. E. Brightman, 'Soul, Body, Spirit' in *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. II, pp. 273-4.

<sup>21</sup> In the paragraphs which follow in this Anaphora (numbered 89-98) there is a commemoration of Christ's Passion and Death. The lance with which Christ's side was pierced is described as black, and His Tomb is said to be of three cubits. In the Anaphora of St Cyril (M. Daoud, op. cit., p. 211) we read 'A narrow grave limited Him before Whom heaven and earth tremble . . . and they buried Him in a grave of three cubits. He stretched forth His honoured Head and the grave was filled with Him'. This measurement given corresponds more or less with the measurement of the Tomb of Christ in the Church of the Resurrection. Paragraph 99 continues: 'While He was there He cried towards Adam, His servant and to all his sons'. (100) *Priest*: 'The Lord be with you all'. *People*: 'And with thy spirit'. *Priest*: 'Give ye thanks unto our God'. *People*: 'It is right, t is just'. *Priest*: 'Lift up your hearts'. *People*: 'We have [lifted] them unto the Lord our God'. 'Our Father Who art in heaven (thrice). Thou art our Lord and our God'. (101) *Priest*: 'When He had said this to Adam, His servant, etc.'

<sup>22</sup> In the paragraphs which follow in this Anaphora (numbered 102-04) there is a commemoration of the Resurrection, the Appearance to the Apostles, the Ascension and the Second Coming.

<sup>23</sup> Psalm xxxii, 22.

<sup>24</sup> In the paragraphs which follow in this Anaphora (numbered 46-57) there is a commemoration of Christ's Passion and Death. Paragraph 58 continues: 'The Immortal died: He died that He might destroy death: He died that He might give life to the dead'. (59) *Deacon*: 'Ye who love Him, weep and mourn over Him'. (60) *Priest*: 'Yê, yê, yê, Emmanuel our God' (repeated by the people). (61) *Priest*: 'Yê, yê, yê, Jesus our Saviour' (repeated by the people). (62) *Priest*: 'Yê, yê, yê, Christ our King' (repeated by the people). (63) *Priest*: 'Yê, yê, yê, the righteous men took Him down from the Tree, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes and pure fine linen cloths to wrap His Body'. (64) *People*: The Trisagion (with the clauses added by the Ethiopic Church). (68) *Priest*: 'He rose from the dead, etc.' (69) *Deacon*: 'Bow your heads before God'.

<sup>25</sup> M. Daoud, op. cit., p. 133 renders this by 'the nature of this cup'.

O. H. E. HADJI-BURMESTER.

Babylon,  
Old Cairo.

Feast of our fathers among the Saints, the Hieromartyr  
Clement of Rome and Peter of Alexandria.

24th November 1958.

## DOCUMENTATION

THE New Year Message of His Holiness, the Œcumenical Patriarch, Athenagoras I, which in part, is an answer to the recent Christmas message of Pope John XXIII, asking for unity among Christian Churches. This translation was published in *The Way* (Vol. III, March 1959) the official publication of the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese, U.S.A.

'Because our Holy Apostolic and Œcumenical See and we personally, pray without cessation for the union of the Churches, we gladly welcome every sincere appeal for the sake of peace in the Church. And our gladness is naturally the greater when such an appeal for the union comes from a Christian centre like ancient Rome.

The sad picture of mankind to-day, living in the midst of trials caused by the lack of mutual understanding and the failure of peoples to live together in peace, compels the leaders of the Christian Churches to reconsider their duty. We have a common duty as religious leaders to make it known to the world that technological and scientific achievements are not sufficient in themselves for building a new world civilization for the very reason that no world civilization is possible unless it is established on spiritual, religious, and moral foundations. Christ is the only One Who makes love, peace, and justice possible among men.

Therefore in the deepest consciousness of this duty, we declare the sincere willingness of our Orthodox Church to continue in prayer and supplication for the peace of the whole world and to co-operate positively in practical ways for the advancement of the cause of Church unity.

We are happy and most eager to co-operate with all. We already participate in, and fully collaborate with, the great Inter-Church organizations, and we are ready to enter into special contact with the ancient Roman Church to the end of alleviating the "distress of nations with perplexity . . . for fear and for looking after these things which are coming on the earth" (Luke xxi, 25-26) and of realizing man's hope for a happier perspective in regard to the future.

We consider it, therefore, more than opportune in the cataclysmic situation in which mankind lives to-day, that we, who are called by God to the task of looking after "that which cometh upon us daily and the care of all the churches" (II Cor. xi, 28), should meet and think together upon the most

profound and imperative needs of the millions of faithful of our Churches, so that they may be helped to find the solution or the alleviation of the problems that surround them.

While during the present holidays our mind was fully dominated by such thoughts and questions, the news reached us in an indirect way of the renewed appeal of His Holiness, the Primate of the Roman Church, for the union of the Churches. We greet this appeal in a brotherly spirit, for we interpret the appeal as a clear understanding that the spiritual forces, which are seen in their fullness and power in the ideal and most desirable state of unity which our Lord bequeathed to His Church, must truly meet again and become united. Such a uniting of spiritual forces is of course, not possible in the present state of division and discord, which has existed for centuries.

We further interpret this appeal, which was contained in His Holiness' Christmas message, as an indication that the meaning of Christmas is to be found not in some vague conception of self-perfection or Christian virtue in general, but in the power which makes it possible for mortal man to rediscover his lost likeness to his all-perfect Creator; the message of Christmas shows us the way to that reconciliation among ourselves and with God, which is demanded of all of us.

We feel, therefore, more than convinced that every appeal for unity must be accompanied by such concrete deeds and actions as are necessary to prove our intentions in full harmony with our works and which would bring the members of our Churches indeed closer to God, at least on the ground of practical Christianity for the present, and always in the spirit of equality, justice, spiritual freedom and mutual respect.

In the course of the present holidays which are centered around the Epiphany of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, Who manifested Himself in the East, we find it proper to hope and pray that, in this season when the thoughts of all Christians are turned towards the East, where "the Prince of peace and the Everlasting Father" (Is. ix, 6) came, the Holy Church of Rome may, also in a brotherly spirit, turn towards the East. This we wish and expect from His Holiness, the new Pope of Rome, John XXIII, who is so well known, loved and respected in our Church jurisdictions; and this wish is not ours alone, but is the expectation of all Christians who hope to see the dawn of a really New Year in Christ.

✠ ATHENAGORAS,

*The Œcumenical Patriarch.*

'THE ŒCUMENICAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE RUSSIAN  
ORTHODOX CHURCH'

This is an article in the *Scottish Journal of Theology* (March 1959) by D. Dr Professor Edmund Schlink of the Evangelical Church in Germany, Heidelberg. The writer was one of a group of Evangelical leaders invited by the Moscow patriarchate to visit the principle Russian Orthodox seminaries, so the first part of the paper is an account of Professor Schlink's impressions of St Sergius's Monastery of the Holy Trinity, the Leningrad theological academy, of an Orthodox Easter, and of the Lutheran congregations at Riga. But the main point of the article is to estimate the value of the Russian Orthodox Church to the World Council of Churches. In this connection the author stresses the importance of the Russian Orthodox Church as purified by persecution and the value of this to the Western Churches. The most interesting part of his thesis, however, is his estimation of the profit that the W.C.C. will derive from close fellowship with the Russian Orthodox in the œcumenical discussion.

Here are some quotations :

'If the Russian Orthodox Church of the Moscow patriarchate should associate itself with the World Council of Churches, this would be a considerable strengthening of the other Orthodox Churches already represented in it. This strengthening of the Eastern Church as a whole would doubtless be a great gain for all the member churches of the World Council and something to be most welcomed. I shall confine myself to stating the most important reasons.

'It is, of course, true that the Orthodox Church is very set in its dogma and therefore immovable in œcumenical discussions. But on the other hand it must be remembered that it has committed itself to far fewer dogmatic decisions than large parts of Western Christendom. After fixing of the trinitarian and christological dogmas it did not expressly define and proclaim any further dogmas.

'Moreover, œcumenical discussion is of importance to us because the dogmas valid in the Eastern Church have been formulated within the structure of the doxology or at least have been determined by it and are therefore closer to the act of worship than many decisions taken in the history of Western dogma.

'The Orthodox contribution can be just as important in questions of Church order as in questions of doctrine. Here too

the Orthodox Church is generally regarded as particularly immovable. But it is to be noted that the canonical order of ecclesiastical offices has remained closely attached to the idea of community in the early Church, in such a way that there becomes visible here a profound contrast with the centralism of the Roman Church order, and on the other hand, an affinity with the Evangelical understanding of Church unity as community of Churches, even though it retains, in conformity with the Roman Church, the hierarchical order of the apostolic succession.

'For the œcumenical meeting of churches it is further of importance that as regards the problem of the bounds of the Church the Eastern Church has not committed itself dogmatically in the same way as the Roman Church. But even the canonical decrees on the bounds of the Church have again and again in Orthodoxy been treated at important points in a peculiarly flexible manner, apparently inconsistently and yet at the same time in accordance with the essential nature of the Church inasmuch as in the canonical concept of *oikonomia* the activity of love is given scope to recognize other Christians and ecclesiastical acts that have been accomplished in them outside the Orthodox Church.

'A strengthening of the Eastern Church in the World Council of Churches might thus contribute in a decisive way to a loosening of the inflexible relationships between the Churches of Western Christendom, especially between the Roman Catholic Church and the Churches of the Reformation. The Orthodox Church is in fact the indispensable third party in the meeting of the other two great blocs of Christendom, Protestantism and Catholicism.'

This is a very important statement from a member of the Commission of Faith and Order.



## NEWS AND COMMENTS

## IRAQ

The new patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldeans, His Beatitude Paul II (Cheikho), was enthroned in his cathedral in Mosul at the end of last year. The new patriarch was born at Al-Kosh in 1906. He studied in Mosul and in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Rome. He then returned to Mosul to teach. In 1947 he was consecrated bishop of Agra in Iraq and in 1957 was promoted to the see of Aleppo in Syria.

In 1956 the latest statistics given for the Chaldeans was 70,000 or more; and this from the Chaldean patriarchate Baghdad. But *The Catholic Herald's* report (2nd January 1959) on the latest statistics gives 120,000.

## MALABAR

A split in the Jacobite Church of South India has been healed after nearly fifty years. The Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar and the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Church have become reconciled. The Orthodox Syrians, formerly independent, have agreed to acknowledge the spiritual authority of the Patriarch Mar Ephraim in Homs, Syria. The patriarch will also accept the catholicos, head of the Orthodox group, as the autonomous head of the South Indian Syrian community.

E.P.S. (Geneva).

[This does not affect the Mar Thomite group which is inclined to Protestant teaching.—EDITOR.]

## ENGLAND

The Society of St John Chrysostom is to resume its activities. Those interested may write to the Hon. Secretary, Preb. Ronald Pilkington, 42 Francis Street, London, S.W.1.

In March this year the Archmandrite Sofrony (whose book *The Undistorted Image* is reviewed on another page) has established a small community of Orthodox monks in the Old Rectory of Tolleshunt Knights, near Maldon, Essex.

They are there with the permission of Bishop Anthony Bloom, who is Russian Ordinary of those who belong to the Moscow jurisdiction.

We offer them a great welcome. It will be of real value to be able to see and meet monks who are living the authentic Orthodox monastic life.

#### U.S.A.

*Ten Years Ago* by Peter Gherman.

The story of the persecution of the Catholic Church of the Byzantine rite in Rumania. Published by the Association of Rumanian Catholics of America, Inc. (2650 East 93rd Street, Cleveland 4, Ohio, U.S.A.). We referred to the anniversary celebrations in our last issue (p. 347).

This book of forty-three pages gives a straightforward account of what happened.

We are pleased that the author gives the real relations between the Rumanian Orthodox and the Byzantine rite Catholics; we will quote: 'It is quite unthinkable that the people of Rumania as a whole could freely and knowingly show ingratitude to the Byzantine Catholic Church, an institution that has never sought but their well-being and prosperity. It behoves us therefore, in evoking here the martyrdom of the Byzantine rite Catholic Church, in one of the most tragic times of the history of the Rumanian people, to affirm that we in no way confound that nation and the true Orthodox Church with the communist régime and its Orthodox tools, which suppressed the Byzantine rite Catholic Church.'

'We know full well, too, that, throughout the campaign for the abolition of the Byzantine rite Catholic Church, many Orthodox priests and laymen stood by the side of those who were victims of the persecution, and their brotherly comfort will not be forgotten.'

Archbishop James of Melita has taken Archbishop Michael's place and was enthroned in New York on 31st March 1959. Besides having under his jurisdiction Orthodox in Canada, U.S.A. and South America, he will have those in the West Indies, Japan, Korea and the Philippines. He had been the representative of the patriarch of Constantinople at the World Council of Churches for four years, he is a member of the central committee of the Council. Many years.





Amba Alexander, Bishop of Lycopdis, Assiut



The Tamguid

## EGYPT

In the last issue (Winter 1958) p. 356, we quoted from a letter of the Catholic Coptic bishop of Assiut. We here give his photograph and that of the *Tamguid*.

In the Coptic rite, the *Tamguid* is an annual festival in honour of our Lady, patroness of the diocese of Assiut (Lycopolis) in Upper Egypt. It begins with a prayer of thanksgiving, followed by an invitation to the faithful to pray, and the censuring of the altar and the eikons on the *haikal* screen. A *théotokie* in honour of the Blessed Virgin is chanted, also an *apsalie* according to the day of the week. Her eikon is carried in procession three times round the nave, with censuring all the time. The service ends with a sermon, an absolution (*tablii*), and a blessing with the eikon.

The photograph shows the censuring of the eikon above the altar.

At Assiut the annual *Tamguid* becomes a diocesan pilgrimage. In 1958 about 2,000 persons were present; 600 or so receiving Holy Communion during the morning Liturgy (*Korban*). In the evening the cathedral was crowded to capacity. Devotion to the Mother of God is a very real thing in Egypt.

## OBITUARY

The Most Reverend Archbishop Michael, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America died 13th July 1958. R.I.P.

Archbishop Michael held many posts in Greece, from 1927-39 he was dean of the Greek Cathedral of St Sophia in London. Then for ten years he was metropolitan of the diocese of Corinth and from 1949 he was archbishop in the Americas with some five million Greek Orthodox. He was one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches and a champion of the Orthodox Faith.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY,  
52 ODOUS SUEDIAS,  
ATHENS, GREECE.

The Editor, *E.C.Q.*

26th March 1959.

DEAR SIR,

I do not understand why Abbot Butler writes (in his letter in No. 8, Vol. XII of *E.C.Q.*) that he thinks I dislike the test of *a priori* considerations (speculative theology) in a discussion on the nature of the Church and the meaning of its unity. On the contrary, clarification on this level is a prerequisite to any fruitful discussion at all—especially for the Orthodox, who do not distinguish, as Abbot Butler appears to do, between *a priori* considerations and tradition. Indeed, one of the difficulties does seem to be that Roman Catholics tend to make, or to think in terms of, divisions and distinctions of a kind that are unreal for the Orthodox—no doubt the reverse is true as well. For instance, to distinguish between the local and universal unity of the Church in the way Abbot Butler indicates is foreign to the Orthodox point of view: the local churches derive their unity from the universal unity—from, that is, participation in Christ through the Holy Spirit—and apart from that are not in or of the Church at all. In the same way the Orthodox do not and cannot envisage an ‘institutional cause or source’ of the universal unity of the Church distinct from, or independent of, either a non-institutional cause or source or a cause or source of the local unity of the Church: the cause or source of the Church in all its aspects—non-institutional and institutional, universal and local—is Christ, not only in a historic, but in an ever-present sense. Then, it is not really legitimate from the Orthodox point of view to speak of the visible and historic Church and the invisible and post-historic Church as if these were two entities that could be considered in separation: to say, as Abbot Butler does, that ‘as a historical entity, the Church is a *signum efficax* of the post-historic Kingdom of God’, seems to be speaking in terms of an entirely fictitious abstraction. The Church is the *corpus Christi*. Those aspects of the Church which are visible and historic are aspects of the Church because they manifest the ever-renewed condition of the Incarnate God. If they do not do this they are not



aspects of the Church. How many bodies (invisible-visible, post-historical-historical, non-institutional-institutional universal-local) is Christ supposed to have? Or, alternatively, how many causes or sources (invisible-visible, etc.) is Christ's body—the Church—supposed to have? How can one participate in the life of the Spirit (as Abbot Butler acknowledges that the Staretz Silouan does participate) without at the same time participating in Catholic unity? Are Christ, His body, the Holy Spirit, the Church, its unity, so divided against and between themselves?

The answers to such questions as these do of course depend upon *a priori* considerations, and it must be admitted that the Orthodox often find it hard (and often do not take the trouble) to discover what these are where the Roman Catholics are concerned. At the same time, it must be remarked that the Orthodox outlook is in general both more paradoxical and more integral—more integral because more paradoxical—than that of the Roman Catholics, who appear to assume divisions and distinctions which the Orthodox do not assume. This may only be another way of saying that the Orthodox do stick very closely to their Christocentric and hence sacramental understanding of things, and tend to reject what does not derive from, and cannot be referred back to, this understanding. That is why, as I said in my first letter, the question of papal primacy can only be discussed by the Orthodox in the light of basic doctrinal principles, because it is in the light of these that the Orthodox determine their attitude to it.

AN ORTHODOX LAYMAN

ST PROCOPIUS ABBEY,  
LISLE, ILLINOIS.

To the Editor, *E.C.Q.*

28th January 1959.

REVEREND AND DEAR FATHER,

The calling of an Ecumenical Council by the Roman Pontiff reaffirms our reasonable and well-founded belief that East and West are nearer to the extrinsic perfection of the Unity of Christendom than at any other period since the Council of Florence in the fifteenth century. The socio-political causes which engendered the separation no longer exist;

divine grace has tilled the soil of men's hearts and Christian love will bring forth the harvest. It is my hope that all Christians who are enlivened by the principle of the valid sacramental life—Orthodox and Catholic alike—may see in this signal event the eleventh hour which Providence announces.

In view of these facts, I would entreat you to encourage according to the circumstances most auspicious to your purpose, those whom your work comes in contact with, to pray and to sacrifice for the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit upon the labours of the council. Perhaps this can best be achieved if we would arrange for Latin Catholics in our geographical area to participate in the divine liturgy of one of the Oriental rites and to present that liturgy ourselves when possible. Too, we can encourage the faithful to offer hours and days of prayer for the extension of Unity to all. A renewed effort to show love to our separated brethren and to encourage them to pray in this intention should do much to weld more closely our purified spiritual motivations and intentions, placing them under the protection of the Mother of God. We should appreciate hearing from you as to how it may be possible for you to implement our humble suggestions.

Praying God to bless you, believe me,

Yours devotedly in the Lord,

✠ AMBROSE.

(Rt Rev. Ambrose L. Ondrak, O.S.B.)

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*The Gnostic Problem.* A study of the Relations between Hellenistic Judaism and the Gnostic Heresy by R. McL. Wilson, B.D., PH.D., Lecturer in New Testament Language and Literature, St Mary's College, University of St Andrew's (Scotland). Pp. x+274 (A. R. Mowbray and Co. Ltd, London) 35s.

'This book', says the author, 'does not profess to be a full-scale study of the Gnostic movement', but, 'has been deliberately restricted to the Gnosticism of the second century, since it is here that the characteristics of the movement may first be clearly seen. Affinities with other systems of thought, both earlier and later, have been recognized, and some account has been taken of earlier Coptic material, but the primary concern of this work is with the relations between the Gnosticism of the second century and the thought of Diaspora Judaism, especially in the works of Philo. The book is based on a thesis accepted by the University of Cambridge for the Ph.D. degree.' What appeared, of articles or books on Gnosticism or of recently published Papyri after 1956, could not be taken into account as the author's manuscript had already gone to the press. This, however, does not take anything away from the value of the book in the reviewer's opinion.

The first chapter, *The Judaism of the Dispersion*, captivates the reader gradually more and more: these seventeen pages of historical information with about eleven pages of notes at the end of the chapter (copious notes and references are to be found at the end of each chapter), are a condensed yet clear and delightfully readable exposition of what its title proposes—a quality the reader will meet in other chapters too.

The second chapter, *Alexandrian Judaism and Philo*, begins with a description of the Alexandrian Jewish Diaspora's attempt to meet the needs of the Greek-speaking Jews by the translation of the Bible into Greek (hence the so-called Septuagint) and and at the same time to present the Jewish faith to the Gentiles in their own tongue. This same double purpose is also the motive for Philo's attempt to make Judaism intellectually respectable by linking it with Greek philosophy, and it lies behind all the propaganda of the Jewish Hellenistic Literature (p. 31). Philo's interest, however, always remains the same, not to construct a more adequate philosophical system, whether based on the contemporary schools or in opposition

to them, but to justify Judaism in terms of contemporary thought and to read into it as much as possible of contemporary Hellenistic theology. He begins with the Jewish Bible and reads Greek philosophy as it were between the lines, of which the most striking example is that of the identification of personified Wisdom with the Logos. It will be interesting to compare this chapter with Jean Daniélou's *Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1958).

The third chapter introduces us to *Gnosticism and Christianity in New Testament Times*. On page 62 we read: 'In so far as Christian preaching remained true to the tradition of the Old Testament, Judaism and the earliest Church, definitive contrasts between it and Gnosticism are straightway apparent (a quotation from Bultmann).' He admits though that there was a good deal of 'gnosticising' thought in the early years of the Christian era, for example in Philo, but this is not yet definitively Gnostic. He also admits traces of the Gnostic type in the Pauline Epistles (cf. p. 71), but Paul always maintains the essential Christian point of view. While Philo sought to blend Judaism with Hellenism in order to give it a philosophic appearance in the eyes of the Gentile world, Paul had to adapt the Christian Gospel to the minds of his hearers (Gentiles). If Paul uses here and there a terminology similar to that of the Gnostics, it seems more accurate to suggest that the Gnostics derived their language and ideas from Paul, but gave to both a new meaning (p. 73). As regards the Dead Sea Scrolls they may fairly be called pre-gnostic in the proper sense: the Gnosis in the Scrolls has to do with God's marvellous works, the meaning of divine law, the dualism of light and darkness, it is older than the Gnosticism of the second century; the 'descensus angelorum' of Gen vi was already known in Jewish Apocalyptic writings. (A clear distinction between orthodox and heterodox gnosis is made by Père J. Daniélou in his recent book *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*: orthodox gnosis established a parallelism between creation and eschatology, and eschatologic realities are the theme of Jewish Apocalyptic.) Dr Wilson studies St Paul's ideas in I and II Cor., Gal., Rom., Col. The distinction between Paul and the Gnostics is that he accepts the contemporary 'Weltanschauung' as regards flesh and spirit, obedience to law, the current cosmogony, Wisdom, etc., but rejects the gnosticizing interpretation of these concepts, and moreover, he sets Agape above all mysteries and knowledge. As regards St John's Gospel the author admits (with Quispel) that Valentine has

in fact transposed the fourth Gospel into a Gnostic key, while the first Epistle of John is quite clearly directed against ideas of a Gnostic type; and so with the Epistle to the Hebrews which has nothing to do with the Angels of the Gnostic type, Christ is the Lord reigning above all Angels and He is the only One who has penetrated into heaven, into the Holy of Holies, as the only Mediator between God and man.

In the *fourth* chapter the *Early Gnostic Sects* come into consideration. In Col., the Pastorals and the Johannine literature the false doctrine combated would seem to be Gnosticism in an embryonic form. It appears as a deviation from Christianity, but there is much to suggest a Jewish origin, though this does not mean identification of Gnosticism with Jewish heterodoxy. The influence of Hellenism upon the Jews in the pre-Christian period may have been stronger than so far supposed. Here we might mention what Mgr L. Cerfaux says in his Summary of the Communication he was to make at the International Biblical Congress, held at Louvain during the last week of August 1958: 'the existence of a prognosis in the churches of Asia is attested by the Epistles of the Captivity, the Pastorals and the Apocalypse of St John. This religious movement does not find a sufficient explanation in the spreading of the purely Jewish gnosis ("Essenism" has been thought of); the milieu of proconsular Asia was too much exposed to the influences of hellenistic syncretism to remain unaffected; moreover the vocabulary and certain practices of this prognosis, irreducible to Judaism, manifest a contact with a milieu attuned to mystery religions. Some particular ways in which Paul expresses himself in Col. and Eph., when trying to counter this prognostic movement, seem to have left in his epistles some terms or idioms adopted by that movement.' (Cf. *Analecta Lov. Bibl et Orient.* 1958, Sess. III, Fasc. 10, pp. 23). Dr Wilson then expresses his views on the system of Simon Magus whom he has mentioned when speaking of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the preceding chapter, p. 75, but only in footnote 87, p. 91, together with Dositheus. In this footnote he speaks of a possible line of connection between the Scrolls and Gnosticism proper through Simon Magus and Dositheus; a suggestion made by others. Epiphanius mentions the latter as being also a Samaritan heretic (who was perhaps an Essene: cf. J. Daniélou, 'Théol. du Jud-Chr.', pp. 84-86). Then he comes to the systems of the Nicolaitans, of Cerynthus and of Saturnilus. In these early manifestations of Gnosticism one can find some general lines of thought, first as regards the

Supreme God, unapproachable except by redemption obtained by means of gnosis, a gnosis which tries to fit the belief in Jesus as Redeemer into their philosophical theory; then as regards the evil of matter deprived of its divine element after the fall, which makes the Incarnation of Jesus and his Passion unthinkable, whence a denial of the reality of either his divinity or of his humanity; finally as regards the creation of the world—and of man too—which was ascribed to angels or similar inferior beings, themselves either creations or emanations of God. The soul is but a spark or fragment of the Divine implanted by the Supreme God, but imprisoned out of envy by the hostile powers, from which man can escape only by gnosis which sets him free from law, even from marriage as being a kind of indulgence tending to increase the authority of the rulers of this world. Then the gnostic becomes free from Fate and from Mortality (Simon had even promised he would rise from the dead, but it never happened!). Diverse conclusions were drawn from those premises: for some ethics were irrelevant and hence freedom became licence; for others contact with matter in any form was to be avoided and they turned to often excessive practices. After a short conclusion the author points out that the 'Soter' concept and the gnosis concept are older than the N.T. and that they used these words in a different meaning. One admires his courage and patience to enter into the farrago of all these false assumptions and doctrines!

In Chapter v, *Later Gnosticism and the Christian Philosophers*, we are making acquaintance with the second century Gnosticism. On p. 133 the author says: 'To us the recital of Aeons, of a triple world without a Pleroma, a triple Fall and a triple Redemption is tedious if not absurd and the tedium is not relieved by the manner in which the Patristic writers set out the opinions which they seek to refute'. The author has had the courage to read Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and also the Alexandrian Fathers, Origen and Clement, besides the Jew Philo and many studies on their writings, and as a result he has been able to give us a substantial description of the Gnostic systems of the Ophites, the Basilidians and the Valentinians. Each of them is a farrago of personifications of abstract Hellenistic concepts combined with Jewish (biblical and non-biblical) as well as Christian concepts dished up in some sort of newly arranged mythologized stories with actors such as the Bythos, the unapproachable and unnamable God, or the so-called 'Non-existent God', with some kind of



created divine beings : the Logos, the Spirit, also Jesus, then the Angels of the seven spheres and planets, etc. I'd better stop lest the reader experience the tedium mentioned above. But it shows what Paul and John had already to cope with, and more so Christianity of the late first century, and how during the second century (and still later) it had to struggle for the preservation of the Christian truths. The Alexandrian Fathers themselves (Origen and Clement) came under the influence of Gnosticism, especially in employing the allegorical method in the explanation of Scripture in order to reconcile the truths of the Christian faith with the doctrines of philosophy. But they preserved the fundamental truth about God's Justice which, for Clement, is but the reverse side of his love, just as the Jewish law is for him a preparatory discipline to the full Christian life, a tutor unto Christ. The Gnostics had found in Paul much that they could employ, but the Alexandrians followed Paul more closely and contemporary philosophy was for them but a framework and not the greater part of the whole as for too many Gnostics, and they were first and foremost loyal to the Christian faith (p. 136).

Chapter vi, *Two Original Gnostic Documents: 'Apocryphon Joannis' and 'Evangelium Veritatis'*. The first is one of the documents of the Berlin Gnostic Papyri (published in 1955), and had already been identified as the source employed by Irenaeus in his description of the Barbelognostics. It occurs in three different recensions in the Nag Hamadi library, one of them closely similar to that of the Berlin Codex. This treatise is a system of mythologized abstractions into which Adam and Christ have been somehow integrated. It was Ialdabaoth who set Adam in Paradise, and Christ, not the serpent, who encouraged man to eat of the tree of good and evil. There is no room here to explain the system. The doctrine (according to Till, the principal interpreter of the Berlin Papyrus) is on a high intellectual and moral level. It seems to be a consistent and well articulated system and to have the key to the enigma of the Ophite doctrine. One striking feature is the re-interpretation of the Genesis narrative. The strictly Christian elements are far less important and little place is given to the person and ministry of Jesus. This might point to a pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism, slightly Christianized. But firstly we have no date for the document, save that it seems to have been known to Irenaeus, and secondly there is the fact that the God of the O.T. has been degraded into the chief of the rulers of this world. This latter feature seems to have been



introduced in the time of Marcion (contemporary of Justin Martyr). It has not yet the despairing outlook on the world which we find in the Book of Jubilees, or in the recently published Genesis Apocryphon. It appears in a cruder form in Irenaeus, who by combating it perhaps distorted it, or it may be a systematization of what Irenaeus had found in a cruder form; that depends on the date (Cf. p. 154).

*The Gospel of Truth* is certainly not a Gospel in the sense of a book giving an account of the life, work and words of Christ. Some suppose that it was composed by Valentine at Rome about 140-5 A.D., before or shortly after his breach with the Church. It insists on man's forgetfulness of God, who, to overcome the error of man, revealed himself as the Word. Hence a sort of system based on error and darkness, producing terror and confusion like the shadows and phantoms of night, as opposed to truth and light, through which man rediscovers himself and so rises again, awakening to light . . . according to the Gospel revealed to the perfect by Jesus Christ, etc. Much inevitably remains to be done after we can finally place the Gospel of Truth in its perspective in the history of the development of Gnosticism (Cf. p. 161). The author of this Gospel of Truth knows the Pauline Epistles: his ideas are those of a Gnostic since he admits two classes of men (dualism); there are æons from above emanated from God, and there are the plasmata of error. The myth of the birth of Error (Agnōia) becomes a subject of evolution, creator of nothingness and ending up by becoming a demoniacal counter-reality opposed to God. The absence of mythologization is so much the more striking, perhaps purposely avoided. Amid these pseudo-intellectual complications of the theosophies and gnoses, its author has been able to stick to a remarkable sobriety; no doubt this is due to a solid philosophical schooling but also to his Christian education (Cf. p. 99 of the *E.C.Q.*, Vol. XI, No. 2, Summer 1955). On p. 163, speaking of the long passage in the Gospel of Truth about the *Name* of God—which Quispel links with Jewish theories, because their references to a Name that may not be pronounced suggest the 'hidden name' of Jewish speculation.—Dr Wilson says that the comparative absence of O.T. material would seem to make caution advisable. The passage in question reads in some respects like a meditation on the Christological hymn of Philippians ii, 5 ff. Moreover, he also is of the opinion (p. 162) that the author of *Evangelium Veritatis* did both know and use the greater part of the N.T.,

and one notable feature of the treatise is the way in which the N.T. ideas and terminology are transposed into a Gnostic key. This must provoke a reconsideration of Bultman's claim that Paul and John employed gnostic terms for the presentation of the Gospel, since in the Gospel of Truth we seem to have rather an adaptation of Christian terms to gnostic use. The reviewer thinks there is worse than this abuse of terminology. Let me mention here the article which Mgr Lucien Cerfaux (already quoted above) published in *New Testament Studies* (Cambridge University Press, Vol. V, Jan. 1959, No. 2, pp. 103-10) and which he entitled 'De Saint Paul à l'Évangile de Vérité, to show that the *Evangelium Veritatis* (xvi, 33-xxiii, 2) presents a unity of construction similar to that of Rom. 1, 14-iii, 31, and at the same time a substitution of gnostic words for Pauline words: *truth* for justice, *ignorance* for impiety or idolatry, the reign of *forgetfulness* of God for the universal reign of sin (the gnostic document ignores sin), manifestation of *gnosis* through Jesus Christ for manifestation of the *justice* of God (i.e. to the truth of God corresponds the *gnosis* of man). (Something similar happens sometimes in the translation of French Catholic books into non-Catholic English, but, of course, not deliberately. Cf. *E.C.Q.*, Vol. XII, No. 5, Spring 1958, pp. 210-13.)

Chapter vii, *Judaism and Gnosticism*, is the longest of all and its contents are most interesting and, though they try to describe the most complex medley of systems and their interpretation, it reads as if the author had mastered his subject fully enough to state honestly what conclusion can be considered either as certain or as probable, as improbable or unacceptable. He has to deal with Judaism of Palestine, and with Diaspora Judaism of Egypt, Chaldea, Persia, Syria and Asia Minor (and some parts of Europe: Greece and Rome), with the Oriental religions, pagan or others and their mystery rites, with the contact all those had with each other and the mutual influence they exercised on each other according to region and school of thought, with the influence of Hellenistic philosophy (and theology) on any of them and vice-versa, with the Christian religion from which they made borrowings adapting these to their own system and *Weltanschauung*, mythologizing what seemed too abstract, reducing moral law to a law without the notion of obligation and sin (*gnosis* being sufficient for salvation), or to a severe law based on the doctrine that matter is evil in itself and marriage to be avoided, etc. A frightful epoch of history for the Christian Church,

forcing her at the same time to a struggle for the preservation of the revealed truths and to a serious attempt to give them a clearer expression. After developing the above thoughts as an introduction, Dr Wilson resorts to a number of sections (Cf. p. 173): (1) the idea of God, with the intermediaries and other subordinate powers; (2) the nature of the world, and the various accounts of its creation; (3) the nature of man, his origin and his place in the universe; (4) closely connected with this, the idea of salvation, including the views held concerning man's present state and the means of escape therefrom; (5) the Gnostic doctrines of the Redeemer in relation to Jewish and Christian doctrine of similar type. We cannot go into fuller details here. Those who read them in Dr Wilson's book will most likely agree with the reviewer's verdict that he shows himself a masterly exponent.

*Diaspora, Syncretism and Gnosticism* is the title of the eighth and last Chapter. The author is of the opinion that without Gnosticism the Christian Church might have remained an obscure sect adhering to a peculiar variety of Jewish Messianism. It led both Judaism, especially that of the Diaspora, and Christianity as well, into the wider field of the pagan world (p. 256). After the Hellenistic world had broken down the old national barriers and ultimately after the triumph of Rome had produced a blending of Greek and Oriental civilization and thought, a religious syncretism took place as well, but the more or less rationalized and often mythologized pagan religions took far more from the Jewish and Christian doctrines into their systems than the latter from them, for Judaism and Christianity kept the process of assimilation under a severe control, subordinating the borrowed elements to the essential message of each. In Gnosticism the control had gone and ultimately there was no hesitation in merging gods of different faiths (p. 258). Although there were Jewish Gnostics, Rabbinism saved Judaism as a whole from becoming Gnostic, and if we hear of Christian Gnostics then they were so in good faith for a time. The author then quotes the following words from Dodds (B.G. 247-8): 'They constructed a vast system on the basis of their own speculations, in which the redemption wrought by Christ was made to provide a final clue to the mystery of things. But the *central mind of the Church* (reviewer's italics) *rightly judged* that in these systems the distinctive truths of Christianity were swamped in alien speculations and *called a halt* (rev. italics) to the process of synthesis. For some Gnosticism became a road to the Church, while at the same

time its errors forced orthodox Christianity to consider seriously what had to be accepted, what rejected in the philosophy of the contemporary world. When all is said, despite its Jewish and Christian elements, despite its contribution to Christian thought as an experiment in accommodation despite the good intentions of some at least of its exponents, Gnosticism is not Christian, but a phase of heathenism.' A question: in whom was this central mind to be found and whence its authority?

DOM E. LUKE WILLEMS, D.PH. AND L.

*The Johanne Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament, Vol. II, Number 4) by Harry M. Buck, Jr. Pp. viii+83 (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1958) 15s.

This is a very important contribution to the study of the critical value of the Lectionary text for the reconstruction of the original Greek New Testament. It is a dissertation in the Series issued by the University of Chicago, Illinois, on the Lectionary Manuscripts. The present study of Harry M. Buck, Jr, is limited to the Johannine lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary between Easter and Pentecost. He compares the text of twenty-five lectionaries with the Textus Receptus edition of Oxford 1873. Among them only 164 belongs to ninth century and 183 to ninth or tenth century. Most of them are of twelfth century and onwards. The critical value for the reconstruction of the original text of the Lectionary is not the same for all the manuscripts. The author thinks that 112, 169, 1333, 11579 are the best, and that the critical lectionary text should be based on the use of such representative manuscripts.

The main conclusion reached by the author points to the Cæsarean origin of the Lectionary text, although the important readings were more and more corrected according to the Byzantine textual tradition. The Cæsarean character is betrayed by minority variants, while the text conformed to a prevailing standard of the Byzantine form is to be found in the majority variants. I think this conclusion can be safely regarded as demonstrated. But I do not agree with the author in giving a prominent place to the lectionaries for the reconstruction of the original Greek text. Critics indeed cannot reject even small evidences of a single variant wherever evidence can be found. For the knowledge of the history of the transmission of a

given textual form of the New Testament they deserve indeed an important place, but in this respect the quotations of the Fathers are probably more important. For the critical reconstruction of the original text they are less important than manuscripts of direct tradition. The composite character of the Lectionaries that the author frequently refers to is to be shown in Table 2. Why do minority variants in the Saturday lessons have no support from Byzantine witnesses, while those of Sunday and Weekday lessons have it? As the author states, Lectionaries did not appear in full bloom all at once, but were adapted gradually from other forms of the text, and they derive from different textual and liturgical traditions. Manuscript 700, for instance, whose prominent Cæsarean character is known, gives good support to the majority variants of the Byzantine evolution of the Lectionaries in the Saturday and Sunday lessons, but not in the Weekday lessons. On the other hand its scanty support of the minority variants does not deserve a place in Table 2 among the non-lectionary witnesses which support minority variants, where Cæsarean character is much stronger. This composite character of the Lectionaries is against their critical value for the reconstruction of the original text.

Among the collated material, only verses 5, 24; 5, 30; 6, 27a; 8, 12 are repeated. Thus a collation of lessons 20, 19-31 (Sunday) and 20, 19-25 (Weekday) would be welcome in order to judge of the unity or diversity in the textual tradition in this case.

In checking the support from Coptic texts for the majority variants of Lectionary readings (p. 62, n. 1) I found some inaccuracies:

- 3, 23: statement is inaccurate for boh.
- 6, 15: sah. *on* is against the omission of  $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\nu$  in twenty-two lectionaries; all boh. but E and F omit.
- 6, 19: perhaps too precise for the genius of the Coptic.
- 6, 24: sah. is to be added.
- 4, 25: the author is right, for the variant lesson in Horner's edition should be in the text.
- 9, 25a: sahidic witnesses are divided.
- 7, 53-8, 11: sah. is to be quoted for the omission of this pericope even more than boh.

Among the articles on the Cæsarean text the study of Mgr T. Ayuso (BIBLICA 1935) should perhaps be mentioned.

DOM P. BELLET.

*Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* by W. Jardine Grisbrooke. Pp. xvi+390. Alcuin Club Collections No. XL (S.P.C.K.) 42s.

As the author points out in his preface, Anglican 'liturgical chaos is no new thing, no product of the Oxford Movement. The Prayer Book Communion Service was criticized and condemned, in generation after generation, by men who, as often as not, would be shocked at what they would denounce as the "Popery" of modern Anglo-Catholicism (and that not only in "advanced" churches).' This book—quite indispensable to students of liturgy in the Reformed Churches—contains the texts of eight of the communion rites which were drawn up between 1637 and 1764, together with detailed commentaries on them. They consist of the Scottish Liturgy of 1637, followed by those of Jeremy Taylor (1658), Edward Stephens (1696), William Whiston and John Henley (1713 and 1726), the Nonjurors (1718 and 1734), Thomas Rattray (c. 1740), and the Scottish Liturgy of 1764. What all these liturgies have in common is an effort to get right behind Cranmer's eucharistic theology, as expressed in 'The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion' found in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and to create a form of public worship more closely related to that of the primitive Church.

Mr Grisbrooke admits that 'the "appeal to the primitive Church was often misinterpreted and misused: the divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were by no means always able to examine the "primitive" evidence with either the detachment or the technical knowledge to its understanding; and they made many mistakes—I, personally, would say, many grave mistakes—in their attempts to build a theological tradition upon it. Nevertheless their achievement was by no means contemptible, and the tradition in, by, and for which they laboured, has a claim to be regarded as peculiarly Anglican—and indeed as *the* Anglican tradition—in a sense and a measure in which no other school of thought can claim.'

To readers of the *E.C.Q.* what is of special interest is that all these Anglican communion rites of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were based on Oriental liturgies, granted that the compilers' knowledge of them was definitely limited. The inspiration in most cases were the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*, belonging approximately to the year 380, which was the actual worship of the Syrian Church, particularly in the city of Antioch in the fourth century. It must be admitted,



however, that the language of several of these liturgies is often prolix and even turgid. One misses the exquisite prose of Thomas Cranmer! The majority of the compilers were dreamers and visionaries, scholars who lived more in a Jacobite twilight, out of touch with reality. Perhaps it is just because of this that Mr Grisbrooke's book is so fascinating.

P.F.A.

*The Edwardine Ordinal* by the Rev. C. Hoare (Burleigh Press)  
17s. 6d.

This small book deals with a matter of prime importance for the understanding of the religious changes in England in the sixteenth century. It is divided in two parts, the first illustrating the history of the Ordinal: its creation, suppression, restoration, and subsequent history; the second is devoted to the Preface to the Ordinal and its 'manifold ambiguities'. The whole is supported by a continuous series of quotations drawn from the most varied sources, some Catholic, but mostly Anglican of different schools of thought.

If it is possible simultaneously to agree and disagree wholeheartedly with any book, this one might serve as an example. With the author's main contention, that the Ordinal was the effective instrument for the abolition of the Catholic priesthood in the Church of England, one cannot but agree; but one can at the same time regret the way in which it is presented, and doubt whether it will do much good. It will confirm Catholics in what they knew already, but it will encourage in them, unjustly, feelings of contempt and animosity towards those who are not the authors but the victims of what to-day, to many of them, is an intolerable situation. As Pope Pius XII wrote, we in England must learn to show ourselves in regard to our separated brethren '*diversi*' indeed, but not '*adversi*'.

Nor is it likely to do much good among our separated brethren either. Quite apart from its general tone, it assumes throughout that the Church of England claims to be a body with a uniform doctrinal and ecclesiastical outlook, but Anglo-Catholics—at whom the book is chiefly directed—are the last to accept such an assumption. That there are fundamental differences among Anglican writers, dignitaries and others (as the many quotations make manifest), is perfectly well known and regretted by Anglo-Catholics: ceaseless repetition can only irritate. And if such direct attacks are to be made at all in the controversial manner of Victorian times, then the evidence alleged should be presented impeccably, and



not by quotations at second and third hand, nor by tendentious glosses inserted in the texts. The non-Catholic reader, meeting with these, will lose all interest after a few pages, and the book itself will have defeated its own purpose.

It is with regret that one lays down the book, which contains so much good material collected with such persevering industry. Used rather differently, and stripped of evidence of dubious value, that material might have formed the basis of an objective, not unsympathetic and, hence, persuasive presentation of the facts.

M. BÉVENOT, S.J.

*The Undistorted Image—Staretz Silouan 1866—1938* by Archimandrite Sofrony. Pp. 207 (The Faith Press) 18s.

There are now a number of books in English describing Orthodox spirituality and at first sight this may appear to be but one other. This, however, is shown us through the life and teaching of a modern Russian monk.

The book is divided into two parts, the first is an account of the life of Father Silouan, and the second part gives some of his spiritual notes. Both parts are by his friend Archimandrite Sofrony and all this is translated from the Russian by Rosemary Edmonds.

Here is a picture of a modern Russian monk, a young uneducated peasant who in 1892 after finishing his military service came to the Russian monastery of St Panteleimon on Mt Athos and there became a monk (not a priest) and a *staretz* and attained a high degree of holiness. In the ninety-eight pages devoted to his life, we are given a simple and vivid account of his spiritual way to God. His way was that of St Anthony the hermit, he went out to fight the Devil. His mission was to suffer and pray for the world. In viewing the problem of Russia one can take courage and hope when one sees such roots as this deep down in the Russian soil.

This is also a book of great value for what it has to say of the spiritual life ; man considered as the Undistorted Image.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

*The Gallican Rite* by the late W. S. Porter. Pp. 64 (A. R. Mowbray and Co., London) 6s.

We have in these few pages a well-written and carefully-documented attempt to reconstruct the main lines of the Gallican Eucharistic Rite as it was in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Rev. W. S. Porter was sometime Vicar of

Colnbrook and wrote this paper some fifteen or more years ago, using as his sources (1) the very meagre evidence of Gallican councils and writers, such as Cæsarius of Arles and Gregory of Tours; (2) the *Libellus Missarum* or small set of Masses published in 1850 by F. J. More and such genuine Gallican elements as are embedded in the *Missale Gothicum* and other Romanized documents; and (3) 'Whatever equivalence we may postulate between the early rites of Gaul and Spain'.

In attempting this reconstruction we must presuppose, he says, up to the end of the fourth century, 'one simple and fairly uniform eucharistic rite, made up of the primitive synaxis and the primitive eucharist, more or less neatly welded together into one continuous service'. Liturgical differences began to show themselves after the fourth century. In some localities some of the primitive elements were dropped or moved; everywhere new and varied additions were made according to local taste and fashion.

It is not possible here to give a full outline of the Gallican rite as reconstructed in this paper but a few points where this rite differed from our present-day Roman rite may be of interest. The lesson from the Gospels was often in the form of a cento or harmony. Just before or after the prayers of the faithful which concluded the Mass of the Catechumens the Great Entrance or Procession of the Oblations took place as a preliminary to the Offertory. The Kiss of Peace, preceded by a variable *Oratio ad pacem*, was given after the offertory prayer. The *Contestatio* (corresponding to the Roman Preface) was different at every Mass and often of great length. The Nicene Creed and the *Pater noster* were not said until after the fraction of the Host. The latter was broken into nine or sometimes seven particles.

To facilitate further study there is an excellent bibliography at the end of the book, and a carefully compiled index.

I noticed one small misprint. On page 19, third line: 'we most presuppose' should read 'we *must* presuppose'.

D.G.B.

*Western Asceticism*. Select Translations with Introduction and Notes by Owen Chadwick. Pp. 36 (The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. XII, S.C.M. Press).

This is in fact a very valuable commentary on the Rule of St Benedict. There are translations of the Sayings of the Fathers some sixty pages, and also the Conferences of Cassian, ninety pages and then the Rule of St Benedict. The Rule is

thus placed in its right setting and not looked at backward through the eyes of the Middle Ages or even through those of the nineteenth century reformers. We have in this volume St Benedict in his own environment seeing the monastic life as he knew it and so able to see how he adapted it to meet the needs of the West. It is also excellent spiritual reading.

B.W.

*Aramaic Grammar* by Rev. Thomas Arayathinal, M.O.L. (1957, St Joseph's Press, Mannaham, Kerala State, South India).

The author began this book at the demand of His Grace Mar Ivanios, who not only put his library at the author's disposal but took a keen interest in the work.

In 1955 the publication was encouraged by His Eminence Cardinal Tisserant. In his introduction Father J. P. M. van der Ploeg, O.P., says that those who have studied this grammar thoroughly possess a key to the whole field of Syriac literature.

The author follows the system of the Gaspey-Otto-Sauer method. Morphology and Syntax are taught together, and each lesson is followed by an exercise A from Syriac into English and an exercise B from English into Syriac. The great advantage of Father Arayathinal's grammar is that it has a key to all its exercises which is a great help for those students who want to study Aramaic on their own.

E.L.W.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

Longmans : *The Life of St Thomas Aquinas*, Kenelm Foster, O.P.  
Rue de Livourne, 80a Bruxelles, 5 : *English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State*, Ruth M. Slade.

Editions de L'Orante, Paris : *Nicolas Cabasilas*, Myrrha Lot-Borodine.

Macmillan Co., N.Y. : *The Catholic Church in the Middle East*, R. Etheldorf.

Cambridge University Press : *The Tabernacle*, D. W. Gooding.

### REVIEWS

*At-one-Ment* : Washington, D.C.

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The rest of the number is devoted to philosophy. It is prefaced by an editorial on the question 'Is there a philosophical orthodoxy?' which suggests that Gregorian chant is not the only field where much of the disagreement is in default of clear thinking rather than inherent in the complex nature of the object.

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